

Congressional Record

SEVENTY-FIRST CONGRESS, THIRD SESSION

SENATE

THURSDAY, JANUARY 29, 1931

(Legislative day of Monday, January 26, 1931)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess.

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Dill	Jones	Robinson, Ark.
Barkley	Fess	Kean	Schall
Bingham	Fletcher	Kendrick	Sheppard
Black	Frazier	Keyes	Shipstead
Blaine	George	La Follette	Shortridge
Blease	Gillett	McGill	Smith
Borah	Glass	McKellar	Steiger
Bratton	Glenn	McMaster	Stephens
Brock	Goff	McNary	Swanson
Brookhart	Goldsborough	Metcalf	Thomas, Idaho
Broussard	Gould	Morrison	Thomas, Okla.
Bulkeley	Hale	Morrow	Townsend
Capper	Harris	Moses	Trammell
Caraway	Harrison	Norris	Tydings
Carey	Hatfield	Nye	Vandenberg
Connally	Hawes	Oddie	Wagner
Copeland	Hayden	Partridge	Walcott
Couzens	Hebert	Phipps	Walsh, Mass.
Cutting	Heflin	Pine	Walsh, Mont.
Dale	Howell	Ransdell	Watson
Davis	Johnson	Reed	Williamson

Mr. FESS. I was requested to announce that the Senator from Colorado [Mr. WATERMAN] is detained in the Committee on Patents.

Mr. THOMAS of Idaho. I wish to announce that the senior Senator from South Dakota [Mr. NORBECK] is detained in an important matter before the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Mr. TOWNSEND. I wish to announce that my colleague the senior Senator from Delaware [Mr. HASTINGS] is unavoidably absent. I ask that this announcement may stand for the day.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-four Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. FESS. I ask unanimous consent that the Journal for the calendar days of January 26, 27, and 28 may be approved.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Journal for the days indicated will stand approved.

SENATE OFFICE BUILDING COMMISSION

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair appoints the Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON] a member of the Senate Office Building Commission, authorized by the sundry civil act approved April 28, 1904, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the Senator from North Carolina, Mr. Overman.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

Mr. KEYES presented petitions of sundry citizens of Manchester, N. H., praying for the passage of legislation for the exemption of dogs from vivisection in the District of Columbia, which were referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. TYDINGS presented petitions of sundry citizens of the State of Maryland, praying for the passage of legislation for the exemption of dogs from vivisection in the District of Columbia, which were referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also presented petitions of sundry citizens of the State of Maryland, praying for the prompt ratification of the World Court protocols, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD presented a petition of sundry citizens, being postal employees and substitute postal clerks, of St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minn., praying for the passage of the so-called Kelly bill, being House bill 3087, granting vacations and sick leaves to substitute postal clerks, which was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

He also presented the following memorial of the Legislature of the State of Minnesota, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry:

Resolution memorializing Congress to enact that certain bill now pending known as H. R. 15934, relating to the manufacture and sale of oleomargarine and restricting the use of palm oil in the manufacture thereof

Whereas there is now pending before the Congress of the United States a certain bill known as H. R. 15934, the purpose and intent of which is to prohibit the use of palm oil in the manufacture of oleomargarine and its products; and

Whereas the enactment of such bill by Congress will be of great benefit to the dairying interests of the State of Minnesota: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Minnesota (the Senate concurring herein), That we do hereby respectfully petition and urge Congress to pass and enact said H. R. 15934; and be it further

Resolved, That the chief clerk be instructed to forward a copy hereof to each of the Senators and Representatives of the State of Minnesota in said Congress of the United States.

HENRY ARENS,
President of the Senate.

OSCAR A. SWENSON,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Passed the senate the 21st day of January, 1931.

G. H. SPAETH,
Secretary of the Senate.

Passed the house of representatives the 21st day of January, 1931.

JOHN I. LEVIN,
Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives.

Approved January 22, 1931.

FLOYD B. OLSON,
Governor.

Filed January 22, 1931.

MIKE HOLM,
Secretary of State.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD also presented the following memorial of the Legislature of the State of Minnesota, which was referred to the Committee on Commerce:

Concurrent resolution memorializing the President of the United States, the Secretary of War, the chairmen of the Rivers and Harbors Committees of both Houses of Congress, and the Senators and Representatives in Congress from this State to support certain bills in Congress establishing normal minimum water levels in reservoir lakes in this State

Whereas the summer tourist business in Minnesota has rapidly assumed the proportions of a major industry and annually attracts to our State business now approaching \$90,000,000 per annum; and

Whereas this business and its consequent income was built up solely by reason of the many beautiful lakes in our section of the State and must continue to exist and develop only if our lakes

and their many attractions are maintained as nature intended; and

Whereas it is of vital economic importance to the many thousands of people in northern Minnesota who have grown to depend in a great measure upon our summer tourist business that such business be preserved intact; and

Whereas the continued withdrawal of waters from the several reservoir lakes has resulted in the destruction of fish life, rendered unsightly many hundreds of miles of previously beautiful lake shore and beaches, and made serious inroads on property values in our lake district: Now, therefore, be it hereby

Resolved, That we are of the firm opinion that the only efficient and lasting remedy for such existing condition is the establishment of levels in the lakes in the reservoir system below which water can not be taken and the release shall not exceed the capacity of the river banks to carry without overflow; be it further

Resolved, That our two Senators and all Representatives in Congress be requested to use every honorable means to secure speedily the enactment of H. R. 15600, by Representative HAROLD KNUSTON, and S. 5637, by Senator SHIPSTEAD, establishing normal minimum water levels in our reservoir lakes, below which withdrawals can not be made, and that the Secretary of War through his present authority temporarily establish such higher minimum levels; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, the Secretary of War, the chairmen of the Rivers and Harbors Committees of both Houses of Congress, and to the Senators and Representatives in Congress from this State by the secretary of state.

OSCAR A. SWENSEN,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

HENRY ARENS,
President of the Senate.

Passed the house of representatives the 20th day of January, 1931.

JOHN I. LEVIN,
Chief Clerk, House of Representatives.

Passed the senate the 22d day of January, 1931.

G. H. SPAETH,
Secretary of the Senate.

Approved January 23, 1931.

FLOYD B. OLSON, *Governor.*

Filed January 23, 1931.

MIKE HOLM, *Secretary of State.*

I, Mike Holm, secretary of state of the State of Minnesota, do hereby certify that I have compared the annexed copy with record of the original resolution in my office of H. F. No. 132, being Resolution No. 4, Laws 1931, and that said copy is a true and correct transcript of said resolution and of the whole thereof.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the great seal of the State, at the capitol in St. Paul, this 23d day of January, A. D. 1931.

[SEAL.]

MIKE HOLM,
Secretary of State.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Mr. COPELAND, from the Committee on Commerce, to which was referred the bill (S. 5743) to authorize 24-hour quarantine inspection service in certain ports of the United States, and for other purposes, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 1400) thereon.

Mr. NYE, from the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 16116) to adjust the boundaries and for the addition of certain lands to the Bryce Canyon National Park, Utah, and for other purposes, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 1401) thereon.

Mr. STEIWER, from the Committee on Indian Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 4637) authorizing the payment of expenses connected with suits pending in the Court of Claims from tribal funds of the Klamath Indians, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 1402) thereon.

Mr. BORAH, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, to which was referred the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 231) to further provide for defraying the expenses of the International Water Commission, United States and Mexico, reported it with an amendment and submitted a report (No. 1403) thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to which were referred the following bills and joint resolution, reported them severally without amendment and submitted reports thereon:

H. R. 9702. An act authorizing the payment of an indemnity to the British Government on account of losses sus-

tained by H. W. Bennett, a British subject, in connection with the rescue of survivors of the U. S. S. *Cherokee* (Rept. No. 1405);

H. R. 12037. An act authorizing the payment of a claim presented by the Polish Government for the reimbursement of certain expenditures incurred by the community authorities of Rzeszczany, Poland, to which place an insane alien was erroneously deported (Rept. No. 1406);

H. R. 12067. An act for compensation to the owners of the Danish motor ship *Indien* for damages sustained as the result of a collision with the United States Coast Guard cutter *Shawnee* at San Francisco on April 5, 1925 (Rept. No. 1407); and

H. J. Res. 299. Joint resolution to provide an annual appropriation to meet the quota of the United States toward the expenses of the international technical committee of aerial legal experts (Rept. No. 1404).

REPORTS OF NOMINATIONS

As in executive session,

Mr. PHIPPS, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, reported favorably the nominations of sundry postmasters, which were placed on the Executive Calendar.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. HALE:

A bill (S. 5928) granting an increase of pension to Alice M. Spaulding (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. NORRIS:

A bill (S. 5929) granting an increase of pension to Emma C. Nichols; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. COPELAND:

A bill (S. 5930) for the relief of Reuben D. Martin; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 5931) granting an increase of pension to Eva J. Clarke; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LA FOLLETTE:

A bill (S. 5932) granting an increase of pension to Annie E. Shannon; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MOSES:

A bill (S. 5933) for the relief of Ira J. Patterson; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. THOMAS of Idaho:

A bill (S. 5934) to amend the tariff act of 1930; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. REED:

A bill (S. 5935) granting a pension to Philip Gump (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (S. 5936) to authorize the President to appoint Frank T. Hines a major general in the Army of the United States; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BROOKHART:

A bill (S. 5937) relating to the construction of post-office buildings; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. BARKLEY:

A bill (S. 5938) granting a pension to Thomas E. Morrison; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CAPPER:

A bill (S. 5939) granting a pension to Elijah R. Wilson (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SCHALL:

A bill (S. 5940) granting a pension to Emma L. Marheine; to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (S. 5941) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to determine the value of services and expenses of delegates and representatives of the Chippewa Indians in the State of Minnesota sent to Washington, D. C., by said Indians, and to certify the amount to the Secretary of the Treasury for the purpose of making settlement therefor; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. BULKLEY:

A bill (S. 5942) granting compensation to Harriet M. MacDonald; to the Committee on Finance.

A bill (S. 5943) granting a pension to James Forsha; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CAREY:

A bill (S. 5944) granting a pension to Paul Manso (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 5945) granting an increase of pension to Sarah C. Manso (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MORRISON:

A bill (S. 5946) granting a pension to Emory M. Farrar; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McNARY:

A bill (S. 5947) for the relief of Nancy Catherine McBride; to the Committee on Finance.

A bill (S. 5948) authorizing the President to appoint Richard R. Middlebrooks a second lieutenant in the United States Infantry; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. THOMAS of Idaho:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 242) increasing the rates of duty for the period of one year on agricultural products and provisions which are prescribed by Schedule 7 of the tariff act of 1930; to the Committee on Finance.

AMENDMENT TO INDEPENDENT OFFICES APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. BINGHAM submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to House bill 16415, the independent offices appropriation bill, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed, as follows:

On page 47, strike out lines 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"That in the expenditure of appropriations in this act for the United States Shipping Board Merchant Fleet Corporation, the said corporation shall, when in its discretion the interest of the Government will permit, purchase for use, or contract for the use, within the continental limits of the United States only articles of the growth, production, or manufacture of the United States, notwithstanding any existing laws to the contrary."

PRINTING OF HOUSE DOCUMENT NO. 722—REPORT ON THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE PROHIBITION LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. MOSES submitted the following concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 37), which was referred to the Committee on Printing:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there be printed 28,000 additional copies of House Document No. 722, Seventy-first Congress, being a message from the President of the United States transmitting a report of the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement relative to the facts as to enforcement, the benefits and the abuses under the prohibition laws of the United States, of which 12,000 copies shall be for the use of the House, 4,000 copies for the use of the Senate, 7,000 copies for the document room of the House, and 5,000 copies for the document room of the Senate.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Chaffee, one of its clerks, announced that the House had passed without amendment the following bills of the Senate:

S. 872. An act to amend an act for the relief of certain tribes of Indians in Montana, Idaho, and Washington;

S. 4537. An act to relinquish all right, title, and interest of the United States in certain lands in the State of Louisiana; and

S. 5295. An act authorizing an additional per capita payment to the Shoshone and Arapahoe Indians.

The message also announced that the House had passed the following bills of the Senate, each with amendments, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

S. 615. An act authorizing an appropriation for payment to the Uintah, White River, and Uncompahgre Bands of Ute Indians in the State of Utah for certain lands, and for other purposes; and

S. 3938. An act authorizing the construction of the Michaud division of the Fort Hall Indian irrigation project,

Idaho, an appropriation therefor, and the completion of the project, and for other purposes.

The message further announced that the House had passed bills of the following titles, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H. R. 10515. An act to ratify certain leases with the Seneca Nation of Indians;

H. R. 13528. An act providing for payment of \$25 to each enrolled Chippewa Indian of Minnesota from the funds standing to their credit in the Treasury of the United States;

H. R. 15267. An act to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the cancellation, under certain conditions, of patents in fee simple to Indians for allotments held in trust by the United States";

H. R. 15772. An act to amend section 3 of the act approved May 10, 1928, entitled "An act to extend the period of restriction in lands of certain members of the Five Civilized Tribes, and for other purposes"; and

H. R. 15987. An act to authorize the President of the United States to establish the Canyon de Chelly National Monument within the Navajo Indian Reservation, Ariz.;

FORT HALL INDIAN IRRIGATION PROJECT, IDAHO

Mr. BORAH. I ask that the Chair lay before the Senate the amendments of the House of Representatives to the bill authorizing the construction of the Michaud division of the Fort Hall Indian irrigation project, Idaho.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the amendments of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 3938) authorizing the construction of the Michaud division of the Fort Hall Indian irrigation project, Idaho, an appropriation therefor, and the completion of the project, and for other purposes, which were, on page 1, line 7, to strike out "for the completion of" and insert "to complete"; on page 1, line 9, to strike out the word "the" where it appears the third time in said line; on page 2, line 1, to strike out "completion of" and insert "to complete"; on page 2, line 9, to strike out "(45 Stat. L., p. 377)"; on page 2, line 11, to strike out "by the lands of the Michaud division"; on page 2, to strike out lines 12 to 24, inclusive, and insert "Sec. 2. The Michaud division"; on page 3, line 3, to strike out the word "The" and insert "Of the"; on page 3, line 3, to strike out all after the word "system" down to and including the word "thereof," in line 4, and insert "\$362,500"; on page 3, line 7, to strike out the word "the" and insert "its"; on page 3, to strike out all after the word "works," in line 8, down to and including the word "hereby," in line 11, and insert "The said \$362,500 is hereby"; on page 3, line 16, after the word "Channel," to insert "and"; on page 3, line 18, to strike out the word "now"; on page 3, line 20, to strike out all after the word "division" down to and including the word "namely," in line 22, and insert "as follows"; on page 3, lines 22 and 23, to strike out the words "60,000 acres" and insert "two-thirds"; on page 3, line 23, to strike out "30,000 acres" and insert "one-third"; on page 3, line 24, after the word "That," to insert "if"; on page 3, lines 24 and 25, to strike out "as result of unusual conditions"; on page 4, line 1, to strike out "existing project"; on page 4, line 2, to strike out "divisions," and insert "divisions"; on page 4, line 3, strike out "of the project"; on page 4, line 4, to strike out "to the extent necessary"; on page 4, line 6, to strike out the word "being"; on page 4, line 8, to strike out "Provided further, That" and insert "and in any case"; on page 4, line 11, to strike out the word "those" and insert "such"; on page 4, line 15, to strike out all after the word "irrigation" down to and including the word "project," in line 18; on page 4, to strike out lines 19 to 25, inclusive, and on page 5 to strike out lines 1 to 23, inclusive, and insert:

SEC. 4. For each Indian, now owning land allotted as grazing or agricultural under the Michaud division, who has no irrigable agricultural allotment with an adequate water supply elsewhere within the Fort Hall Indian Reservation, there shall be reserved by the Secretary of the Interior as a homestead from such grazing or agricultural allotment under the Michaud division a tract of 20 acres on which the collection of construction charges shall be

deferred so long as said tract remains in Indian ownership: *Provided*, That no more than one such tract of 20 acres in one ownership shall be so exempted from payment of construction charges. The construction charges on the remaining area of the Michaud division shall be reimbursed to the United States in not more than 40 years as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior, it being within his discretion to require no payments for the first three years. When any Indian-owned lands under the Michaud division shall hereafter pass into non-Indian ownership, one-fortieth of the construction charges originally due from such lands shall thereafter be reimbursed each year to the United States by such non-Indian owner, until such construction charges shall have been entirely reimbursed as to such land. There is hereby created a first lien against all lands in the said Michaud division, which lien shall be recited in any patent or instrument issued therefor prior to the reimbursement to the United States of the total amount chargeable against such lands, which lien shall not, however, be enforced as to Indian-owned lands during the period that the title to such lands remains in such Indian ownership."

On page 5, line 24, to strike out the word "this" and insert "the Michaud"; on page 6, line 1, to strike out the word "shall"; on page 6, line 1, to strike out the word "proper"; on page 6, line 3, after the word "Interior," to insert "shall"; on page 6, line 8, to strike out all after the word "Affairs" down to and including the word "the" in line 10 and insert "as a part of and on the same terms as the construction cost of the division. The"; on page 6, line 10, to strike out the word "to" and insert "shall"; on page 6, line 14, after the word "the," where it appears the first time in said line, to insert "Fort Hall"; on page 6, line 18, to strike out all after the word "States" down to and including the word "obligation" in line 19; on page 6, line 22, to strike out "be able to"; on page 6, line 22, to strike out all after the word "make" down to and including the word "agreements" in line 23 and insert "contracts"; on page 6, lines 24 and 25, to strike out "their proper equitable proportion of"; on page 7, line 3, to strike out "in so far as practicable"; on page 7, line 11, after the word "the," where it appears the first time, to insert "present"; on page 7, line 14, after the word "the," where it appears the second time, to insert "total"; on page 7, line 15, to strike out all after the word "project" down to and including the word "project" in line 20; on page 8, line 4, to strike out the word "authorized" and insert "require"; on page 8, line 5, to strike out "in his discretion"; on page 8, lines 5 and 6, to strike out the words "or to continue to deliver"; on page 8, line 14, to strike out all after the word "interest" down to and including the word "Secretary" in line 15 and insert "at 6 per cent per annum"; and on page 9, line 1, after the word "appropriated," to insert "for expenditure after July 1, 1932."

Mr. BORAH. I move that the Senate concur in the amendments of the House.

The motion was agreed to.

ERNEST MICHEL

Mr. SCHALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to read into the RECORD a wire that I have just sent to the New York Times, and I ask the loan of the clerk's eyes to do it.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the telegram will be read.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

JANUARY 29, 1931.

MANAGING EDITOR NEW YORK TIMES,

New York City:

I notice in your paper this morning that you stated Senator SHIPSTEAD, of Minnesota, was opposed to Ernest Michel. On the contrary, he is for him and accompanied me to the President months ago asking his appointment. The entire Minnesota delegation is solidly back of Mr. Michel. The State officials of Minnesota, all of whom are elected by the people, are back of Mr. Michel. Nearly 700 lawyers of the State have indorsed him. A score of judges, headed by the supreme court justice of the State of Minnesota, have recommended him. The only opposition to Mr. Michel comes from a small coterie of "right-minded" public-utility lawyers.

Senator SHIPSTEAD stated the other day that over 400 prominent lawyers of Minnesota had written him indorsing Ernest Michel, and that none of them had retracted their indorsements. I get the same reflection and thought from the entire 10 Representatives of Minnesota, so that it is impossible that any of these are among

the recanters cautiously referred to by the Attorney General as confidential. Why so much secrecy, since his statement given to the entire press Tuesday, January 27, evidently sought the widest publicity, and a letter dated yesterday written in reply to a letter I wrote him months and months ago, unanswered until to-day. Those in opposition to the appointment ought to have more or as much weight with the public as those indorsing. The opposition would certainly indicate the direction of the trade winds. I doubt if the Attorney General has had presented to him a more unanimous verdict of the people of a State than has been presented in asking for the recommendation of Ernest Michel to the President as United States judge for the district of Minnesota. The President told Senator SHIPSTEAD and myself, at the time we visited him suggesting the appointment of Mr. Michel and presenting our credentials, that it was the largest, most complete indorsement for any office he had had presented to him.

Ernest Michel is eminently fitted both in character and ability. It is true he has been a poor man's lawyer. The people of Minnesota want to know why this honorable title is such an insurmountable barrier in the eyes of the Attorney General. "What meat has this, our Caesar, fed upon that he has suddenly become so great" that we poor, petty Senators and Representatives of the people of our States "must creep beneath his huge legs and peep around to find ourselves dishonorable graves?"

The Constitution reads "with the advice and consent of the Senate." The Attorney General has cut the word "advice" out of the Constitution entirely as illustrated by his statement, his remarks, and his actions and assumes unto his appointive office all the prerogatives of that word, and his assumption in doing so is only equalled by the patience with which the people's representatives are forced to endure it. "He bestrides this narrow world like a great" political "colossus" and cries out his "right-minded" virtues and condemns everyone who can not get themselves into his narrow groove as playing politics or paying a political debt.

I wonder if a presentation of the history back of his wonderful political rise from a corporation lawyer to the Attorney Generalship of a Republican administration, though he was and still is a Democrat, would be of interest to the public in showing real politics and real political debts in the interest of "right-thinking" public-utility manipulation. I wonder if it wouldn't be of interest to know what political debt his appointments paid. I wonder did his appointment deliver Democratic votes in the last presidential campaign. And I wonder if it would not be of interest to the public to know that all of the Attorney General's friends in Minnesota were opposed to me in the recent election and through this opposition the candidacy of Mr. Michel was made an issue both in the primary and in the election and the Attorney General was frequently quoted from platform and in the press as being opposed to Mr. Michel and it was stated almost daily in the press that my election would mean the appointment of Ernest Michel to the judgeship, and I was elected. I want to and am going to fulfill their prophecy. I believe in keeping faith with the people, and I can not understand why the lawyer of the ordinary folks is barred from being a Federal judge. If such things can be, then our representative Government is a farce. I wonder if all this in more detail would not be of enough interest to some day put into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Mr. President, the reading of the telegram offered by my colleague called to my attention the article appearing in the New York Times this morning to which the telegram refers. The final paragraph of the article states:

The Minnesota judgeship is assuming the proportions of a national issue with the entire Minnesota delegation, except Senator SHIPSTEAD, the Farmer-Labor Senator, favoring the appointment of Mr. Michel, and Attorney General Mitchell, who is also a Minnesotan, opposing it.

I merely wish to say that there is no justification for that article stating that I am opposed to the appointment and confirmation of Judge Michel. At some other time I may have some remarks to make upon the subject. In view of the telegram, which I had not seen, being read into the RECORD, and because of this article in the New York Times this morning, I think these remarks necessary.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles and referred as indicated below:

H. R. 13528. An act providing for payment of \$25 to each enrolled Chippewa Indian of Minnesota from the funds standing to their credit in the Treasury of the United States; to the calendar.

H. R. 15772. An act to amend section 3 of the act approved May 10, 1928, entitled "An act to extend the period of restriction in lands of certain members of the Five Civilized Tribes, and for other purposes"; ordered to be placed on the calendar.

H. R. 10515. An act to ratify certain leases with the Seneca Nation of Indians;

H. R. 15267. An act to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the cancellation, under certain conditions, of patents in fee simple to Indians for allotments held in trust by the United States"; and

H. R. 15987. An act to authorize the President of the United States to establish the Canyon de Chelly National Monument within the Navajo Indian Reservation, Ariz.; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Hess, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

Messages from the President of the United States making sundry judicial nominations were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

WAR DEPARTMENT APPROPRIATIONS

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 15593) making appropriations for the military and non-military activities of the War Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and for other purposes.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, on page 71 of the pending bill, there is a misprint in the amendment relating to Fort Niagara, N. Y. The word "casements" occurs in line 22. It is a misprint. The word should be "casemates." I ask unanimous consent that it may be corrected.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the correction will be made.

SENATOR FROM ALABAMA—ELECTION CONTEST

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have read at the clerk's desk the resolution (S. Res. 426) which I introduced yesterday afternoon. At that time it was not read, but was merely printed in the RECORD and went over until this morning. I ask that it be read in my time.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the reading of the resolution? The Chair hears none, and the clerk will read, as requested.

The Chief Clerk read the resolution (S. Res. 426) submitted yesterday by Mr. HEFLIN, as follows:

Resolved, That the special committee of the Senate to investigate campaign expenditures, created under authority of Senate Resolution 215, adopted April 10, 1930, is hereby further authorized and empowered, in the furtherance of the duties provided for in said Senate Resolution 215, to take possession of ballots and ballot boxes, including poll lists, tabulation sheets, or any other records contained within said boxes, as were used in the general election of November 4, 1930, in the State of Alabama, and to impound the same for examination and consideration by said committee or any other committee of the Senate which has jurisdiction of the subject matter of a contest for a seat in the Senate, when notice of a contest for a seat in the Senate, from the State of Alabama, has been filed.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, on yesterday I filed notice of a contest that I intend to make, setting out certain things that I would later relate in detail, and I have changed the resolution so as to meet some objections that were suggested by several Senators who thought that notice should be given of a contest; and I have now done that. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President—

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, pending the request of the Senator from Alabama, it is noted that the special committee authorized to investigate campaign expenditures is authorized by the resolution of the Senator to take possession of and to impound the ballot boxes, and so forth. Plainly the jurisdiction of a contest is in the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

Mr. MOSES. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, I wish to offer an amendment in the nature of a substitute which provides that the matter shall be taken up by that committee.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I was just going to suggest to the Senator from Alabama that the committee having jurisdiction of such contests had, perhaps, best be authorized to take possession of the ballots.

Mr. MOSES. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from New Hampshire will state it.

Mr. MOSES. Has unanimous consent been granted for the present consideration of the resolution?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Unanimous consent has not been granted.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I rise to a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. HEFLIN. I have not yielded the floor.

Mr. REED. I wish to make a parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator will state it.

Mr. REED. Has the request been made that the unfinished business may be temporarily laid aside for the consideration of the resolution?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair will state that the Senator from Alabama asked unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of his resolution.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, I did not think it would take more than a moment. It involves a very important matter, and I am trying—

The VICE PRESIDENT. The effect of the request, if agreed to, would, of course, be temporarily to lay aside the unfinished business.

Mr. NORRIS. A parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator will state it.

Mr. NORRIS. Is not the resolution submitted by the Senator from Alabama one of privilege?

Mr. HEFLIN. I think it is of the highest privilege.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair is of the opinion that the resolution has nothing to do with credentials, and, therefore, is not of the highest privilege.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I did not myself make any point of order. I am merely pointing out to the Senator from Alabama and to other Senators a feature of the resolution which inevitably will result in controversy, as I see it. I myself favor vesting the jurisdiction in the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, I want to say to the Senator from Arkansas that the ballots will be turned over to the Committee on Privileges and Elections when my contest shall be filed. I do not want to set out in my petition the things that I intend later to disclose; it would not be wise to do that.

I assert on my responsibility as a Senator that more than half the ballot boxes in John Bankhead's county have already been opened in violation of law.

I assert upon my responsibility as a Senator that 53 boxes in my colleague's county, the county of Jefferson, out of 200 and more boxes have been opened in violation of the law.

I assert, Mr. President, that in another county 23 boxes out of 24 have been opened in violation of law, and that in twenty-odd other counties boxes have been opened.

So if I can not have this testimony seized and put in the hands of the committee that is already in the field, what use is there to file a contest and later secure these ballots that have already been opened and probably mutilated or changed?

I am seeking to disclose to the Senate the most flagrant violation of the election law that has occurred in the history of the country, so far as my knowledge goes, and I can not understand why there should be any objection here to seizing immediately these boxes and getting them out of the hands of those who have them now, those who have already gone into them.

I desire to inform the Senate that the courthouse in Mr. Bankhead's county has been broken into twice, once just before the county primary and the other time just before the election, and the charge is that absentee ballots were changed when that took place down there.

I assert, Mr. President, and the facts will disclose—we are already in possession of those facts—that in Mr. Bankhead's county the managers of the election marked many tickets for him before they were handed out to the voters to be voted. His name was in the column on a sheet as large as this [indicating] on the left-hand side, and mine was in the column on the right-hand side.

The voter went in, made his mark under the liberty bell, folded the ticket and handed it in, but when the managers took up the tickets to count them they said, "Look there, this ticket is marked twice; he has voted for the Bankhead ticket and the Heflin ticket; we therefore will not count that ballot." So they laid it aside, and such ballots were put in an envelope and placed in the ballot box marked "ballots rejected." I want to get in there and get those ballots and show them to the Senate, in order that there may be disclosed just what happened in my State. I want to show to the Senate that it was a great farce, and that there was more fraud and corruption practiced in my State than has ever been practiced there. I am seeking to disclose the true situation to the Senate.

What Senator is it who does not want the truth to be known? What Senator is it who wants to shield Mr. Bankhead, if an election has been stolen from me? What Senator is it who would stand here and deny me the right to disclose the fact that the election was stolen?

Mr. President, the ballots have been cast; they are supposed to be in these boxes; no citizen will be interfered with; nobody will be intimidated, as they were interfered with and intimidated on the day of the election. Now, Senators are trying to hide behind the State rights proposition; seeking to shield the ballot-box burglars in my State; seeking to back up men who have provided money in large quantities to be sent into Alabama to manipulate an election for United States Senator.

A few days ago when an effort was being made to prevent me from securing consideration of the resolution offered by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS] proposing to authorize the committee to take charge of the evidence so that the evidence might be preserved for the Senate, my colleague [Mr. BLACK] had an article read at the desk, and that article reflected upon me. It charged bad practice on my part and on the part of my friends on election day in Jackson County. I was compelled to make reply to it immediately. We had only two or three minutes left and so the resolution was not considered. They succeeded in forcing it to go over.

Some Senators said that I ought to file a contest. The Senator from Washington [Mr. DILL] did so. I do not know why he should have become so suddenly interested. I should like to know who suggested to him that I be delayed in this matter. He is on the committee. If he does not want to work on it, I would ask to have him taken off and somebody else put on it. I do not think he has attended many of the sessions anyway.

But, Mr. President, that article was read charging that a United States marshal had gone into the county of Jackson displaying a big pistol and saying he was there at the instance of Senator HEFLIN to look after Senator HEFLIN's interest. There is not a word of truth in it. I never heard of it until my colleague had the article read here in the Senate. I still think his conduct was reprehensible for having read an article that assaulted his colleague without showing it to him and letting him know he was going to have it read. That was in the county of Jackson, where the most corrupt primary ever held was carried on on the 12th day of August, in which Mr. Bankhead was nominated.

You will recall, Senators, that the State committee read me out of the party, because I dared to oppose Alfred E. Smith for President. I repeat that when I did that I rendered the greatest service possible to my party and the greatest service possible to my country, from my way of thinking. They had me read out of the party in an effort, among other things, to intimidate Democrats, so that they

would submit to his nomination in 1932. That was part of the program. They violated the primary in my State when they read me out of the party, because the primary law provides the same qualifications for a voter that are provided for a candidate and the same qualifications for a candidate that are provided for a voter. In other words, if a man is admitted to vote in the primary, he is entitled to run as a candidate; and if he is permitted to run as a candidate, he is entitled to vote. That is plain. The ablest supreme court judge on the bench in my State declared that that action of the committee was in violation of the law. My colleague, in an able document which he issued, stated that it was in violation of the primary law, that it was undemocratic and un-American.

Now, here is the county of Jackson, where they held a primary. This article was read the other day. Let me read to you the attorney general's report on the investigation of the primary in that county:

1. No ballot boxes were provided with lock and key, as the law directs. Paper bags were used.

That is the county of Jackson, where they charged that my friends tried to intimidate voters on election day. Listen to these counts, Senators:

2. The clerks, inspectors, and returning officers did take official ballots and go out 5 and 6 miles from the polling places and vote persons who they knew had never registered or paid poll taxes or who were in arrears with their poll taxes.

That is in the county of Jackson, where that article which was read the other day came from.

3. Ex-convicts whose citizenship had not been restored were knowingly permitted to vote.

That was in the primary on August 12 last in my State in the county of Jackson.

4. The board of registrars should be removed from office, as they have registered persons who failed to make the affidavit or come before the board in person.

5. The board of registrars did as the law directs—attempted to purge the list of persons who were disqualified and filed the list with the judge of probate, but he failed or refused to strike from the list the names of such persons who were ordered stricken by said board of registrars, and knowingly published an incorrect list and collected fees fixed by law illegally, i. e., 5 cents per name.

6. The judge of probate knowingly obtained absentee ballots and voted them in violation of the law.

7. People who lived in Tennessee, and who were disqualified, were permitted by inspectors to vote in said primary—

That is, in Jackson County, Ala.—
some of whom repeated.

That is, voted twice or more.

8. Minors, and a great number of them, from 15 years and upward, were permitted to vote by the inspectors.

9. Persons who voted illegally were told that the law relating to the payment of poll taxes and registration had been repealed.

10. From the condition or marks on the backs of several of the voters' lists it is apparent that the returns were "boosted," i. e., more votes were returned than were voted.

11. There is no true record of qualified voters in Jackson County, and the lists should be corrected before the next election.

12. The Jeffersonian primary of August 5—

That was our primary—
was investigated, and the testimony failed to disclose any violation of the law or unfairness.

This is the report made by a regular, one of the State officials.

13. The grand jury requested the judge (Hawkins) to charge them concerning the election laws, but he refused.

14. The solicitor was opposed to the investigation, which made it difficult to investigate.

15. The grand jury, on the cases docketed, voted 7 to 11, hence no bills. However, there was a weak comment on violations of the election laws in the final report.

That is the grand jury report for that county.

16. After the grand jury failed to indict, I sealed all election sacks in the presence of said jury, stating to them that in every sack there was evidence of serious violation of the election laws, and they would be held for the next grand jury; and as they were being placed at the First National Bank of Scottsboro a summons and complaint in detinue was served upon me by the sheriff at

the instance of W. H. Robinson, chairman of the county Democratic committee.

Now, Senators, you have a bird's-eye view of what happened there. I ask the clerk to read for me the portion of the Jackson County grand jury's report that I have marked.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the clerk will read, as requested.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

We have called before this body a large number of witnesses and investigated the evidence produced before this body as to the elections held this summer, and therefore make the following recommendations:

We recommend that the probate judge prepare or furnish metal voting boxes, equipped with locks and keys, and furnish same to each election precinct, with all other official election papers and lists for their respective boxes. A voting list of qualified voters be furnished each precinct; that all election officers should be required to bring or deliver all the election boxes to the sheriff, who is the county returning officer; that there should be a new roll of qualified voters prepared before the next election, as there are a number of disqualified voters on the poll list. We recommend the chief examiner of accounts of Alabama send examiners to examine the poll lists of voters in this county in order that the same may be corrected before the next election. We recommend that the board of registrars be required to meet and prepare a true and correct roll of the qualified voters of the county before the next election. We recommend that at each term of the court the grand jury be charged relative to the election laws in order that election laws be more closely observed. We, the grand jury, find people have been permitted to vote who have never qualified; that there has been a deplorable lack of respect or ignorance of our election laws. We find that some witnesses had been told that a new law had been passed that eliminated the registration and poll taxes. We further find that minors have been permitted to vote. We further desire to recommend that our absentee ballot law be more closely observed.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, that is the grand jury that failed to indict; but there was so much fraud and corruption that that is the report they filed, relieving themselves of responsibility, and yet showing that there were many people who were perpetrating frauds. That report was made in August, following the primary of August 12, suggesting that a new poll list be furnished, and that the judge charge the grand jury about elections prior to the November election; but neither one of those suggestions has been complied with.

I am telling the Senate that more than half of the ballot boxes in the county of the man who holds the certificate of election in my State, Mr. Bankhead, whose county ought to be above suspicion—I tell the Senate, and I challenge anybody to dispute it, that over half the ballot boxes in that county have been opened in violation of the law.

I know, Mr. President, that Mr. Bankhead and those interested with him, those who helped to finance his campaign, would like to have me set out in detail just what I propose to prove. I ought not to have to do that. No honest Senator will ask that I do that. The Senator who insists on that is seeking to furnish crooks with evidence to hide their guilt, to furnish them opportunity to destroy the testimony that will convict them.

Mr. President, I think quite a number of prosecutions and convictions will grow out of this investigation. I do not want to have to put the criminals on notice; and I ought not to be required to set out in detail that I propose to show that a certain man on a certain day in a certain county at a certain place did this, that, or the other thing. I ought not to be asked to do that. What is it here among Democrats that has sprung up in our party recently that would seek to cloak crookedness and corruption in politics? What influence is it that is gradually poisoning the body politic of the Democratic Party? What is it that is crucifying the bold, brave, and courageous spirit of the old-time democracy that lived in Jackson's day?

Why, "Old Hickory" Jackson, if he were here, would vote to have these ballot boxes seized, and as the criminals were disclosed he would have them apprehended; he would have them prosecuted; he would put them in the penitentiary, if it were in his power. Have we fallen upon a time when men, parading as Democrats, will rise up here in this body and oppose a movement of this kind, which seeks to

get at the truth, to disclose facts, to show fraud and corruption in a senatorial election? Why, Senators, would you want to have your names even associated with a move that tended to cloak, to protect, to shield those who were buying elections, who were intimidating voters, who were mutilating ballots, who were invading the sacred ark of the covenant itself, the ballot box, and opening it with impunity, and going into its contents in open violation of the law?

Mr. President, these things ought not to be permitted to remain as they are in my State. The Committee on Privileges and Elections moves slowly. It takes it a long time to go into matters. I am going to talk very frankly. I do not think the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. MOSES] is at all in sympathy with this movement of mine. He is on that committee. I do not think the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. CARAWAY] is at all in sympathy with my position, nor do I think the Senator from Washington [Mr. DILL] is; and they tell us that he wants to run for Vice President, along with Mr. Roosevelt, from New York.

I do not know what these boys have up their sleeves; I do not know what sort of schemes they hope to serve; but I will puncture a good many of them for them before they get very far with them. I have fought crookedness, frauds, and shams ever since I have been in public life. No man living can point his finger to an act of mine in 26 years in Congress where I have ever been on the side of crookedness and fraud and corruption. I have fought it in the open always. I am fighting it to-day, and fighting for my rights as an American citizen, for my rights as a United States Senator. I am fighting for the honor and integrity of the Senate. I am fighting for the honor and integrity of my State.

I am not reflecting upon my State. God knows, I ought not to want to reflect on a State that has honored me as my State has, and a State that rose up en masse and followed me against the combined political machine, reaching from precinct and county up to governor and United States Senator, to give me a hundred thousand majority in the face of all that. I want to protect them, and I am going to protect them in their right to vote as they want to vote, their right to have their ballots counted as cast. That is all I am asking here.

If these ballot boxes disclose that I was defeated, why should not these gentlemen want that fact brought to light? What is it they want to keep hidden? Why not let us get at the truth and take over these ballot boxes?

We have had two men in Alabama. One of them has been there for six weeks, and he is disclosing things every day that would startle the Senate. I want them to take charge of the ballot boxes and get the poll lists. Let this committee do that, Senators, and turn them over to the Committee on Privileges and Elections. But do not pull those men out of the field. Why do that? You sent them into Illinois, a Republican State; you sent them into Pennsylvania, a Republican State. Why is it that two or three Senators on this side object when the hallowed precincts of the ballot boxes in a Southern State, in a Democratic State, are being invaded and plundered by ballot-box thieves?

I, a Democrat, refused to bow the knee to Al Smith and the alien influence back of him. He bolted my party's platform, and when he did it, excused every Democrat in the country from voting for him. I opposed him. They said then, "We will punish you." They said, "We will read you out of the party." They did read me out of the party, and resolutions were passed all over the State, by thousands and tens of thousands of Democrats, condemning the committee's action.

I took my case to the Democrats of the State, and I carried, I believe, every congressional district in the State, and now the election has been stolen from me, and I am telling the Senate that the evidence is in the ballot boxes. But here we are with some Senators complaining that we are trying to get at the box itself and find out the truth, and they are moving around the Senate and whispering about

to get somebody to object to the consideration of this resolution.

I want to know of my colleague—he has just walked out of the Chamber—whether he is in favor of a full investigation or not. I will wait until he comes back, and propound the question to him. We are going to have an open, fair fight on this, and the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is going to carry it, and the people of my State are going to know the facts about it.

Senators, I would not have any respect for myself if I were to try to shield the crooks who had stolen an election, when we had traced the evidence to its hiding place in a ballot box. These gentlemen rise up and say, "You are interfering with State rights." I did not hear them complaining when a captain of industry went up into St. Clair County in Alabama and called his workmen into a community hall and told them that if they voted for me they would lose their jobs the next day. I did not hear them talking about citizen's rights and State rights then.

When they went to the school-teachers of my State and told them they were holding jobs under a Democratic administration and they had to vote against me, the teachers answered them, "Senator HEFLIN is a Democrat. He is the best Democrat in the State." "I know; but he is outside of the party." "Yes; and you drove him out. You drove him out because you knew that Democrats would nominate him in the party." They admitted it. The chairman of the State committee told me after they had done it, "If they had let you in, Tom, you would have had a cinch." That is an admission that I was the choice of the Democrats, and the Democrats of my State are being punished now by some who are parading as Democrats who object to getting at the testimony and laying the truth of the matter before the Senate.

I want to get the testimony in the quickest way possible. I want to take it out of the hands of those who now have charge of the testimony. Why should there be any objection to that?

Of course, the Committee on Privileges and Elections has to try a case on the evidence and the law, but I submit that it is strange, exceedingly strange, that an effort is being made to force me to present the evidence in detail, to name the person or the people I expect to have investigated, prosecuted, and punished, and I hope sent to the penitentiary. Why is that? It seems strange to me that United States Senators would take such a stand on a matter of this character.

Mr. President, the situation here ought to be so that the suggestion of fraud in any State involving the election of a Member of this body would so arouse this body, and every Member of it, that they would rise up en masse and say, "Go. Bring the testimony. We will not stand for fraud and corruption in the election of a United States Senator."

I wonder if we are going to apply one set of rules to the Northern States and another set of rules to the Southern States when fraud and corruption are charged in the election of a Member of this body. This talk about State rights and force bills will not serve to hide the true position of anyone. The Democrats in my State know who the Democrat is who has carried the standard of the party in all elections for 25 years in Alabama. When some of these gentlemen were never called on to open their mouths in a campaign in my State, I was out battling for the party in every county. They always called for me. The people of my State know my Democracy. They knew it in this election, and that is why every county followed me and I was elected by such an overwhelming vote. Then the ballot-box burglars got together and bodily stole the election from me.

If I am wrong in my contention, why not expose my theory and say, "That is not true. Here are the ballots. They speak for themselves." Why not go in and get the boxes and let us see the poll lists; let us get at the truth; turn them over to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, even though I know I am going into it with two men who I do not believe are friendly to me in the matter.

I am going to ask my colleague here—he has returned—if he is in favor of a full and fair investigation of the 1930 election in Alabama, and if he is in favor of the ballot boxes, many of which have already been opened, being turned over as speedily as possible and made ready for use in a contest before the committee finally.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President, I am in favor now, as I always have been and always shall be, of a full and fair investigation of any alleged charge of fraud. If there have been any ballots stolen in Alabama, I am in favor of exposing whoever is guilty of stealing ballots. I want to state, however, in order that there may be no misunderstanding, that it is my belief that most of the people in Alabama consider the charges that are made that the election was stolen as merely a farce. They do not—

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President—

Mr. BLACK. Let me reply.

Mr. HEFLIN. I do not yield to the Senator to make a speech. He can make one in his own time. I am asking the Senator about his position on an investigation of the charges of fraud and corruption in the Alabama election?

Mr. BLACK. And I am telling it, and I am stating also that personally I very seriously doubt whether any ballot boxes have been opened. I will state to the Senator, and for the information of the Senate, such a charge having been made, that I have just sent telegrams to the sheriffs of Jefferson County and Walker County, Ala., in order that we may be informed as to whether or not the ballot boxes are intact. I have some letters from Jackson County, which I have been requested to put into the RECORD, and a statement which I submit to my colleague, that the people of Jackson County invite him, when his contest starts, to come to Jackson County first, that the ballot boxes are there intact, that they will be glad to have them opened, and that they believe that after they are opened it will be shown that the Democratic ticket carried by a larger majority than the result showed.

So far as investigation is concerned, I stand with the Senator 100 per cent on a full, fair, and complete investigation of any county in Alabama where he charges that fraud was perpetrated, the opening of any ballot box where he charges that he has been counted out of a single ballot, and if the Senator could establish—which I think is wholly and completely impossible—that he has been elected and that the people in 57 or 67 Alabama counties who have sent him to the Senate all these years are crooked, so that in 67 counties in the election ballots have been stolen, then I think he should be seated.

Mr. HEFLIN. I ask the Senator if he is in favor of the present consideration of the resolution that I now have pending.

Mr. BLACK. I have not objected. I will state my position whenever it becomes necessary. I state to the Senator that I am in favor of a full, fair, and complete investigation. I do not join, however, in the idea that the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. CARAWAY] or the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. MOSES] will necessarily be unfair to the Senator. I am satisfied that they would be fair to the Senator.

Mr. HEFLIN. I am not asking the Senator about that.

Mr. BLACK. I recall that the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. MOSES] sent a telegram to Alabama, which was on the front pages of the papers, to deny, in effect, that a conversation between him and the Senator had occurred in which the Senator had asked, according to the charge, that the Republicans do not put out any opponent to the Senator from Alabama in the State. I would not think, from that telegram, that the Senator from New Hampshire would be prejudiced against the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. HEFLIN. I still have not—

Mr. BLACK. I will join the Senator in any effort he will make to get a full, fair, and impartial investigation in any county in Alabama. I will join him in an effort to open up every ballot box in any part of the State, in my

county or in any other county, and if he has been defrauded I want it exposed. It should be exposed; it ought to be exposed; but I do not believe it.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, I ask the Senator again—not to make a speech in my time; he can take all the time he wants—if he has any objection to the present and favorable consideration of the resolution I have at the clerk's desk?

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President, if I have any objection to the favorable consideration, I will express it when the occasion arises. It is not customary, so far as I know, for a Senator on this floor to be compelled, because some other Senator wants to ask him a question, to respond to that Senator and accept his mere statement that "you must say what I want you to say or I will expose you."

Mr. HEFLIN. Then I will ask the Senator if he has requested anybody to object to it?

Mr. BLACK. I have not. Does that satisfy the Senator?

Mr. HEFLIN. If he has intimated to anybody that he would like to have him interfere with its consideration?

Mr. BLACK. The Senator is so free with his intimations and insinuations that my construction of an intimation might be entirely different from his, and I decline to state whether what the Senator would call an intimation or insinuation has occurred, because I do not know what the Senator considers an insinuation. He is so free—

Mr. HEFLIN. The Senator has been very frank to say that he has not requested anybody to object. Now, I ask him if he is in favor of my resolution, and I want him to answer "yes" or "no."

Mr. BLACK. Does the Senator think he has a right to demand that I answer him "yes" or "no"? If the Senator can show me any reason or any rule or any law that requires me to be interrogated by the Senator—I understand the Senator—

Mr. HEFLIN. I understand—

Mr. BLACK. I understand the Senator is incensed about being defeated. That is natural.

Mr. HEFLIN. Especially when it has been stolen from me, and when the Senator was on the side of those who helped perform the act.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President, I am not going to engage in any controversy—

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, I call the senior Senator from Alabama to order for his last statement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator from Alabama repeat what he said?

Mr. HEFLIN. I said my colleague was on the side of the forces that helped to bring this situation about—what they call my defeat.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Fess in the chair). Does the Senator from Arkansas insist on his point of order?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. No; I will not insist. I do suggest to the Senator that the language he actually used was in violation of the rule.

Mr. HEFLIN. I said—

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. The Senator said it was stolen, and that his colleague was on the side which helped to steal it.

Mr. HEFLIN. I still say the election was stolen.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama will proceed in order.

Mr. HEFLIN. My colleague's position on the question of whether he opposes my resolution or favors it is just as clear and comprehensive as the answer was when a man asked a neighbor, "What about cotton?" he said, "Some say it will and some say it won't. It mout and then again it moutn't, but I don't think it will." [Laughter.] His position is just as clear. But I believe that I know the Senator is opposed to the resolution, and I hope that every other Senator will be silent at least upon this question and if an objection must come let my colleague make it. Alabama is the battle ground. There is where this thing

took place, and there is where there is plenty of evidence of fraud and corruption.

Mr. President, I repeat, this investigation will startle the Nation. I am not going to tell what I expect to prove. I will tell it in due time to those who investigate into the facts in detail. If I had been on the other side and the question had been brought up that there was fraud and corruption in an election, I would have been here saying, "Go and get the ballot boxes and let us see. That is the way to tell. Let the ballots speak for themselves." I am rather surprised that my colleague does not take that stand.

The Senator talked about the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. Moses] and the telegram he sent down there in response to one that I sent to him. The Raskob whisky interests had an article sent down there that I had seen the Republican leader [Mr. Moses] and begged him not to let the Republicans put out a candidate against me. I denounced it as false. I denounce it now as false. I wired the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. Moses] and told him the only time I had talked to him about it was when he passed by my seat in the Senate, and I said something about "the Young Guard," and he turned and said to me, "Don't you turn against me. I might cause my Republican friends to beat you down in Alabama." I laughingly said, "You wouldn't take Raskob's side against me, would you, George?" in just a joking way, and that is all there was to it. The opposition used it all over Alabama that I had kept the Republicans from putting out a candidate against me, when the truth is, and I declare it before my God, that I never asked any Republican in the State or out of it to aid me in my State or to keep down Republican opposition to me.

The Republicans in my State are not strong. They met in State committee meeting and decided not to put out a candidate. Why? They never had elected a United States Senator. They frequently do not put out a candidate. They decided they would not put out a candidate. Some of them said they were for me, that I had not been treated right, that I had made a good fight for principle, that I had opposed Al Smith as they had opposed him, and why should they want to join my enemies to punish me for pursuing the course I had pursued? It is quite natural that they should feel that way, is it not? Why should they want to join my enemies and punish me when I supported Hoover against Al Smith? So they used that against me, but they could not do anything even with that.

Mr. President, daily I was speaking to multitudes of people. The opposition had trouble to get a courthouse full even to hear my colleague, a little courthouse. Bankhead was speaking at one place to 37 people when I was speaking to 5,000. I went to that neighborhood later and spoke to 3,500 within 10 miles of where he addressed 37.

My colleague says that I feel badly because I was defeated, and I suppose by the same method of reasoning my colleague wants the side that he was with to be sustained. He does not want it shown that his side was repudiated by an overwhelming vote of the people of Alabama. He is looking to 1932. He does not know what manner of disturbances will haunt his political being then. He has his ear to the ground. He is apprehensive, and well he may be. Why, he used to be a prosecutor for the Government in certain prohibition cases, ferreting out crime and apparently wanting to put down law violations and wickedness of every kind, but here he is, through some one Senator who will object, keeping my resolution from being passed. I believe every Senator here, if my colleague from Alabama will rise in his place and say, "I join my colleague in asking for favorable consideration of the resolution," will refrain from making any objection. There will be no objection to it. I believe that we can pass it. Let my colleague speak for himself.

Mr. President, the practice of fraud and corruption in an election is a serious thing. Some few Democrats seem to think that it is all right and proper to keep a Republican from buying a seat in the Senate, but it is all right and

proper to permit a so-called Democrat to buy a seat in the Senate. I am not that kind of a Democrat. I led the fight in this Chamber 10 years ago against Gov. W. P. G. Harding, of the Federal Reserve Board, when he helped to produce the greatest panic that ever cursed the country. I had some of my Democratic friends come and tell me, "Tom, do you know he is a Democrat?" "Yes; he is from my State, and Woodrow Wilson, a Democrat, appointed him." "Don't you know you are hurting the Democratic Party when you are attacking a Democrat?" I said, "All crooks look alike to me. It is my duty to attack a corrupt Democrat first. I ought to want to keep my party clean and honest, and I have assailed this man and I am going to drive him out." I made my fight, and I drove him out. I led that fight by myself, with the support finally of four or five Senators, and about 57 were with me when the fight was over.

No, Mr. President, I will guard the temple of liberty in my country just as faithfully against fraud and corruption of a Democrat as I will against a Republican. I do not want my country injured. I put my country first. If it is wrong for a Republican to steal a ballot, it is just as wrong for a Democrat to steal a ballot. If it is wrong for a Republican to buy a seat in this body, it is wrong for a Democrat to buy a seat in this body. All I am asking my colleague and other Senators to do is to let me have a chance to disclose the facts, to lay bare the testimony, to get the evidence where we can use it, and not where janitors and what not can play with Alabama ballot boxes at will.

Let me tell Senators this: In the home county of Mr. Bankhead, Walker County, two janitors have keys to the sheriff's office where ballot boxes are stored, and here some Senators, not many of them, are entering protests, ready to make objections, whispering around here in an effort to get up opposition to my resolution. Let that opposition whatever it is come out in the open. I am in favor of my resolution and I have asked my colleague [Mr. BLACK] to tell me and the Senate whether or not he is in favor of it. He said I ought not to ask that question. My colleague spent several minutes trying to say that I am reflecting on the people of Alabama when I make these charges, when all I was asking him to do was to say whether or not he favored the passage of my resolution. He backed off and then moved forward in a circuitous manner.

Then he wired in and he wired out,
And left the Senate still in doubt
Whether the Senator that made the track
Was going south or coming back.

[Laughter.]

O Mr. President, it is a serious situation that we have in the Senate here to-day. The Democratic Party has been loved, honored, and supported all these years because people believed in its nobleness of purpose and in its unimpeachable integrity, and yet we have come to the point where there is hesitation on the part of a few Democrats here about the matter of seeking evidence that will expose fraud and corruption in a Democratic State, but they seem ready to go to it and expose it in a Republican State. The Senator that will take that position ought not to be here and will not be here long. The people of the country, as a rule, are fair. If the facts are presented to them they will decide right. I contend that when they voted in Alabama on the 4th of November they gave me the greatest majority ever polled by any candidate in the history of the State. I give my colleague a chance to prove by the ballots that that is not true. I want the ballots to speak for themselves.

I ask him, "Are you in favor of this resolution?" "I am in favor of a fair investigation." "Are you in favor of this resolution?" "Well, I do not think I ought to be called upon to answer a question like that." And he begs the question—dodges and evades the issue.

Why should he not answer the question? The Senator has a voice and a vote either to support it or oppose it. I hope that position does not embarrass the Senator. He gets up and says he does not believe that the people of 67 counties in Alabama are thieves. Who has made such a

charge? Not I. But I do assert that there are a few ballot thieves in every one of the 67 counties. There is no question about that. The great majority of those people in the 67 counties—yes; more than nine-tenths of them—are clean, honest, and patriotic. The fellows that perpetrated this fraud, that practiced this corruption in Alabama, were the fellows who manipulated the ballots in certain places. Money, big sums of it, came down there. I want a chance to show that. But what I want to do now is to reveal what is in the ballot boxes.

I beg the Senator from Alabama [Mr. BLACK], my colleague, to join me in doing that, but he refuses to do it. He says he has wired the sheriff of Birmingham. Let me tell him that one of the investigators for the Government has already seen those open ballot boxes down there. Fifty-three of them in Jefferson County have been opened and more than half of them in Walker County, and they are open in various other counties. In Mr. Bankhead's home county, let me repeat, two janitors have keys to the office where the ballot boxes are stored.

Is it not strange that the great Democratic Party should be treated in this fashion? How my party will suffer by their efforts to cripple it now, to injure it, to impair its usefulness for the future by Senators standing here and, in effect, protecting fraud and corruption and seeking to shield those who steal elections.

There are some politicians in my State who, when they saw a tidal wave in my behalf sweeping over Alabama, said, "We don't give a damn how many votes he gets, he will not get the election." I will show that. Another one of the slick-fingered artists said, "You cast them [meaning the votes] and we will count them." There has never been before a situation like it in any State, and all I am asking now is that we get at the ballot boxes, take them over, procure the poll lists, and have this evidence ready to turn over to the Committee on Privileges and Elections at the proper time.

Mr. President, let me remind the Senate again. In one county there were 500 poll-tax receipts forged. Yes; and these men voted in the so-called Democratic primary and in the general election. They had no right to vote in either. There were 312 to 400 persons in the same county who were for me, who paid their poll taxes, but the officer would not certify their names as qualified voters, and therefore they were deprived of their right to vote. All this occurred in one county. I am asking the Senate to let us take charge of these ballot boxes and have them preserved, and get them out of the hands of those who have been opening these boxes and going into them in violation of the law.

Now, Mr. President, I again ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of my resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. COUZENS. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. COUZENS. What is the order of business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The unanimous-consent request of the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. COUZENS. I understand that the Army appropriation bill is before the Senate, is it not?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The request of the Senator from Alabama is before the Senate until some Senator objects.

Mr. COUZENS. I object, because I think we ought to continue with the appropriation bills.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is made.

Mr. HEFLIN. I want to state to the Senator that he will not make any time by that course. If he wants me to speak the remainder of the day, I can do it.

Mr. COUZENS. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. HEFLIN. Yes.

Mr. COUZENS. I should be glad if the Senator would speak, because he is very entertaining, and I always enjoy hearing him; besides, I am in no hurry to get away, and

whether a special session shall become necessary is no concern of mine.

Mr. HEFLIN. Would the Senator object to the consideration of my resolution?

Mr. COUZENS. If the Senator is going to speak all day, I certainly would, because I would be charmed to hear him.

Mr. HEFLIN. I would be willing to quit now if the Senator would let us adopt my resolution.

Mr. COUZENS. I want to hear the Senator talk some more; I have been enjoying it immensely.

Mr. HEFLIN. Then, I will have to tell the Senate some of the reasons why the Senator is against my resolution.

Mr. COUZENS. I am not against his resolution; I merely want to hear the Senator continue to entertain us.

Mr. HEFLIN. I will give my own construction as to his position. I made a request that I hoped nobody would object to; I thought only my colleague would object if there was to be any objection made, but now the Senator from Michigan objects.

Mr. MOSES. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. MOSES. Objection has been entered, and therefore the resolution may not be considered immediately.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. MOSES. I call attention, if I may do so, while the Senator from Alabama still has the floor, to an amendment to his resolution, which is in the nature of a substitute, which I send to the desk and ask to have read, so that the Senate may know there are two proposals here.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the clerk will read the amendment in the nature of a substitute proposed by the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. HEFLIN. Let it be read, Mr. President.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

Strike out all after the word "Resolved" and insert the following:

"That in the event of any contest being filed or notice of any contest being given for a seat in the Senate, the Committee on Privileges and Elections is hereby empowered forthwith to impound ballot boxes, poll books, registration records, and all other paraphernalia of election which, in the judgment of the committee, will serve as evidence when the contest is heard; the expense of such impounding to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers of the chairman of the Committee on Privileges and Elections."

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, I just wonder why the Senator from New Hampshire wants to take the special committee out of the field? The special committee is doing work that nobody else can do as cheaply as it is doing it. It is investigating this thing in every detail, and is going

from county to county. I want that committee to get the ballot boxes, and then turn them over to the Senator's committee.

Mr. MOSES. Will the Senator permit an interruption?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Alabama yield to the Senator from New Hampshire?

Mr. HEFLIN. I yield.

Mr. MOSES. Does the Senator think that the special committee is doing the work cheaply?

Mr. HEFLIN. It is doing the work more cheaply than the Committee on Privileges and Elections could do it.

Mr. MOSES. Very well; I happen to know there is on a desk on the other side of the Chamber a detailed statement of the expenditures of the special committee, and I ask unanimous consent that it may be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. HEFLIN. The Senator does not answer my question. Why not adopt my resolution and let the special committee then turn these ballot boxes over to the Committee on Privileges and Elections?

Mr. MOSES. Does the Senator want me to answer that question in his own time?

Mr. HEFLIN. I yield to the Senator to make a brief statement.

Mr. MOSES. I will say to the Senator that there is an orderly way of doing what the Senator wants done and there is a disorderly way of doing it. We have already had one contested case here where there was a question of the joint custody and disputed custody of election material and of ballots, and, growing out of the experience of the Committee on Privileges and Elections in that case, I think it much better and much more orderly that the standing committee of the Senate, which has jurisdiction of the subject matter, should take all the evidence the Senator wishes impounded and hold it until such time as the Senator files his contest and proceeds to make proof of his allegations.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from New Hampshire to print in the RECORD the matter referred to by him?

Mr. HEFLIN. I do not see what the expenditures of the committee in other States has got to do with this particular case in Alabama, but I have no objection to printing the material.

Mr. MOSES. The Senator, as I understood him, thought the special committee had done its work in a very inexpensive manner.

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Date paid	No. of voucher	To whom paid and for what object	Amount	Total
1930 Apr. 30	317	John Andrews: 1930 Apr. 22-30. For services as secretary rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, at \$500 per month.....		\$150.00
	318	Estell C. Healy: 1930 Apr. 22-30. For services as clerk rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, at \$175 per month.....		52.50
May 2	328	John Andrews: For reimbursement for expenses incurred as secretary to the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Apr. 22 to 24, 1930, as follows— Railroad transportation from St. Paul, Minn., to Washington, D. C., via Chicago..... Pullman transportation..... Meals..... Tips, portage, taxicab fares.....	\$42.05 12.00 8.65 5.00	67.70
19	354	Gerald P. Nye, chairman: For reimbursement of expenses incurred as chairman of the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows— May 7-11. Railroad fare and Pullman charges from Washington, D. C., to Chicago, Ill., and return..... Hotel accommodation in Chicago..... Meals, tips, and incidentals..... Taxi fares..... May 12-15. Railroad fare and Pullman charges from Washington, D. C., to Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, Pa., and return..... Meals, tips, and incidentals..... Hotel bills at Philadelphia and Pittsburgh..... Taxi fares.....	72.06 34.65 65.10 16.05 38.21 32.05 23.50 10.05	291.67

Date paid	No. of voucher	To whom paid and for what object	Amount	Total
1930 May 24	363	Gerald P. Nye: For reimbursement of expenses incurred by W. H. Baldwin and Edward M. Daniel, employed as special investigators in the investigations of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from May 1 to 15, 1930, inclusive, as follows— Transportation from Washington, D. C., to Chicago, including Pullman charges..... Portage..... Taxi fares..... Telephone calls (long distance)..... Hotel charges in Chicago..... Meals..... Postage..... Notebooks..... Incidentals.....	\$72.06 1.75 7.00 5.75 88.00 77.00 1.00 3.50 8.87	
	29 374	John Andrews: For services as secretary rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from May 1 to 31, 1930, at \$500 per month.....		\$264.93
	375	W. Hunter Baldwin: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from May 1 to 31, 1930, at \$500 per month.....		500.00
	376	Edw. M. Daniel: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from May 1 to 31, 1930, at \$500 per month.....		500.00
	377	Estell C. Healy: For services as clerk rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from May 1 to 31, 1930, at \$200 per month.....		500.00
	378	Russell M. McFarland: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from May 1 to 31, 1930, at \$500 per month.....		200.00
	379	Agnes Rydgren: For services as stenographer rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from May 12 to 31, 1930, at \$125 per month.....		500.00
	380	Gladys I. Simpson: For services as stenographer rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from May 1 to 31, 1930, at \$125 per month.....		79.17
June 4	395	John Andrews: For reimbursement of expenses incurred by Gerald P. Nye and John Andrews as chairman and clerk of the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows— 1930 May 29-30. Railroad fares and Pullman charges from Washington, D. C., to Philadelphia, Pa., via Harrisburg, and return..... Meals..... Hotel..... Taxicabs, portage, tips.....	31.90 21.35 9.00 7.20	125.00
	396	H. J. Loose: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from May 9 to 31, 1930, at \$500 per month.....		69.45
6	401	D. H. McArthur: For reimbursement of expenses incurred by John Andrews and D. H. McArthur in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from May 19 to 21, inclusive, as follows— Transportation from Washington, D. C., to Philadelphia, Pa., including Pullman charges..... Portage, taxi, and tips..... Meals..... Hotel.....	24.12 4.45 19.25 20.50	366.67
	402	Russell M. McFarland: For reimbursement of expenses incurred from May 1 to 31, inclusive, 1930, as special investigator, for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows— (1) Railroad fares, including Pullman charges, portage, etc., from Washington, D. C., to various cities of Pennsylvania, including Philadelphia, Harrisburg, Pittsburgh, Erie, and other points intervening and adjacent thereto, in said State, and return to Washington, D. C..... (2) Hotel bills, service, and extra entertainment of prospective witnesses and informants..... (3) Meals..... (4) Telephones, telegrams, and long-distance calls, tips, and taxi fares, including special survey of Philadelphia voting centers.....	97.37 145.50 96.95 94.35	68.32
	403	Gerald P. Nye: For reimbursement of expenses incurred by W. H. Baldwin and Edward M. Daniel, employed as special investigators in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from May 16 to 31, inclusive, as follows— Hotel charges in Chicago..... Meals..... Taxi and car fare..... Telephone and telegraph..... Newspapers and postage..... Incidentals.....	128.00 122.78 6.20 5.53 1.46 10.16	434.17
11	405	Baltimore & Ohio R. R. Co.: 1930 June 6. For transportation furnished to chairman and clerk of special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, railroad fare and Pullman, Washington to St. Paul, via Chicago and return.....		274.13
	406	H. J. Loose: For reimbursement of expenses incurred from May 10 to 31, inclusive, as special investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows— Transportation to Northbrook, Zion City, and Harvard, and return..... Car fare, telephone, etc..... Meals..... Incidentals.....	9.12 3.62 3.30 10.00	260.64
13	410	Dispatch-Pioneer Press Co.: For subscription to St. Paul Dispatch and St. Paul Pioneer Press by special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from May 1, 1930, to Nov. 1, 1930.....		26.04
14	417	W. H. Baldwin-E. M. Daniel: For reimbursement of expenses incurred from June 1 to 14, 1930, inclusive, as special investigators in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows— Railroad fares and Pullman charges from Chicago to Washington, Washington to New York, New York to Washington, via Trenton..... Hotel..... Meals, including guests..... Taxis and car fare..... Telephone and telegraph..... Portage, tips, etc..... Stamps and newspapers..... Advance to H. M. Rice..... Incidentals.....	116.66 78.00 97.10 20.25 7.41 6.60 3.88 20.00 19.40	10.00
				369.30

Date paid	No. of voucher	To whom paid and for what object	Amount	Total
1930 June 20	422	John Andrews: For reimbursement of expenses incurred in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from June 5 to 14, inclusive, as follows— Railroad fare and Pullman, St. Paul to Washington via Chicago..... Hotel, Chicago..... Taxicabs and bus fares..... Telephone and telegrams..... Porterage, postage, and incidentals..... Meals.....	\$26.27 14.00 9.27 4.12 8.30 23.30	\$87.26
	423	Lloyd E. Bemis: For services as accountant in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, for the month of May.....		436.20
	426	Warren C. Jefferds, cashier: For stationery and supplies furnished to special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Apr. 25 to June, 19 inclusive.....		69.68
25	432	Howard M. Rice: For reimbursement of expenses incurred from June 9 to 15, inclusive, as special investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows: Railroad fare and Pullman, Washington, D. C., to Newark, N. J., and Newark to Atlantic City..... Hotel room..... Meals..... Porterage, tips, car fare, etc.....	19.61 17.00 15.45 3.55	55.61
26	433	Baltimore & Ohio R. R. Co.: For transportation furnished to W. H. Baldwin and Edward M. Daniel, employed as special investigators in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows— Railroad fare and Pullman, Washington, D. C., to Oklahoma City, Okla.....		132.58
30	458	John Andrews: For services as secretary rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from June 1 to 30, 1930, at \$500 per month.....		500.00
	459	W. Hunter Baldwin: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from June 1 to 30, 1930, at \$500 per month.....		500.00
	460	Edw. M. Daniel: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from June 1 to 30, 1930, at \$500 per month.....		500.00
	461	Estell C. Healy: For services as clerk rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from June 1 to 31, 1930, at \$200 per month.....		200.00
	462	Russell M. McFarland: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from June 1 to 30, 1930, at \$500 per month.....		500.00
	463	Howard M. Rice: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from June 9 to 30, 1930, at \$300 per month.....		220.00
	464	Globe-Wernicke Co.: For office equipment furnished to special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows— 1930 May 9. 1 steel mahogany-finish filing cabinet..... June 19. 1 steel safe, mahogany-finish, with drawers, locker unit, shelf.....	38.60 201.96	240.56
	465	Agnes M. Rydgren: For services as assistant clerk rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from June 1 to 30, 1930, at \$125 per month.....		125.00
	466	Gladys Simpson: For services as assistant clerk rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from June 1 to 30, 1930, at \$125 per month.....		125.00
	467	W. Hunter Baldwin: For reimbursement of expenses incurred from June 15 to 28, inclusive, as special investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows— Railroad fare and Pullman, Oklahoma City to Tulsa, to Kansas City, to Springfield, to Chicago..... Hotel room..... Meals..... Telegraph and telephone..... Carfare, taxis..... Porterage and tips..... Newspapers, stamps, incidentals.....	42.51 41.00 47.05 6.17 14.90 9.65 8.34	169.62
	468	Edw. M. Daniel: For reimbursement of expenses incurred from June 15 to 28, inclusive, as special investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows— Railroad fare and Pullman, Oklahoma City to Tulsa, to Kansas City, to Springfield, to Chicago..... Hotel room..... Meals..... Telegraph and telephone..... Car fare, taxis..... Porterage and tips..... Newspapers, incidentals.....	42.51 36.50 45.60 90 7.00 7.50 8.64	148.65
30	469	Howard M. Rice: 1930 For reimbursement of expenses incurred from June 16 to 22, inclusive, as special investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows— Railroad fare and Pullman, Atlantic City to Newark..... Hotel room..... Meals..... Car fare..... Porterage, newspapers, incidentals.....	4.78 21.00 19.00 3.50 3.75	52.33
	471	Ingham G. Mack: For reimbursement of expenses incurred from June 27 to 30, inclusive, as assistant to the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows: On trip from Washington, D. C., to Chicago, Ill., and return— Meals (for self and committee members)..... Taxis..... Porterage, tips..... Incidentals.....	25.25 3.70 9.45 4.09	42.49

Date paid	No. of voucher	To whom paid and for what object	Amount	Total
<i>Fiscal year 1931</i>				
July 31	5	John Andrews: For services as secretary rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, July 1 to 31, 1930, at \$500 per month.		\$500.00
	6	W. Hunter Baldwin: For reimbursement of expenses incurred July 1-5, as special investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows: Hotel room..... Meals..... Car fare, taxis..... Porterage, tips, phone..... Incidentals.....	\$8.00 12.95 4.25 3.00 2.17	30.37
	7	W. Hunter Baldwin: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, July 1 to 31, 1930, at \$500 per month.		500.00
	8	Edw. M. Daniel: For reimbursement of expenses incurred July 1 to 5, as special investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows: Hotel room..... Meals..... Car fare, taxis..... Porterage and tips..... Newspapers.....	12.00 13.25 1.75 3.95 3.71	34.66
	9	Edw. M. Daniel: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, July 1 to 31, 1930, at \$500 per month.		500.00
	10	Estell C. Healy: For services as clerk rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, July 1 to 31, 1930, at \$200 per month.		200.00
	11	Frank Healy: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, July 6 to 31, 1930, at \$500 per month.		416.67
	12	H. J. Loose: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, July 1 to 31, 1930, at \$500 per month.		500.00
	13	Russell M. McFarland: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, July 1 to 31, 1930, at \$500 per month.		500.00
	14	Howard M. Rice: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, July 1 to 31, 1930, at \$300 per month.		300.00
	15	Agnes M. Rydgren: For services as assistant clerk rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, July 1 to 31, 1930, at \$125 per month.		125.00
	16	Gladys Simpson: For services as assistant clerk rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, July 1 to 31, 1930, at \$125 per month.		125.00
Aug. 15	33	Estell C. Healy: 1930 Aug. 14. For reimbursement of expenses incurred as assistant secretary of the special committee investigating campaign contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from July 1 to Aug. 10, 1930, as follows— Paid Capital News Co. for newspaper service..... Paid Howard M. Rice, investigator, traveling expenses, hotel bills, taxi fares, auto hire, and incidentals..... Paid Palmer House, Chicago, for rooms and accommodation of committee and assistants, July 1 to 3..... Paid Baltimore & Ohio R. R. Co., for transportation and Pullman charges from Washington, D. C., to Chicago and return, for John Andrews, secretary, on July 2, 1930, and for Senator Nye, chairman, and assistants, on July 7, 1930..... Paid for Senator Nye and assistants during July and to Aug. 10, 1930, for hotel bills in Chicago, Ill., Broken Bow, Lincoln, and Omaha, Neb., and St. Paul, Minn., and for transportation, Pullman charges, meals en route, tips, and incidentals from Chicago to cities above mentioned and return to Chicago and Washington, D. C..... Expenses of H. J. Loose, investigator..... Expenses of R. M. McFarland, investigator..... Witness fees, Chicago hearing..... Expenses of investigators and assistants in Nebraska..... Baltimore & Ohio R. R. Co., for transportation..... Air mail postage for service of subpoena..... Witness fees, Pennsylvania hearing..... Secretary of State of Pennsylvania for photostat copies of expense accounts of candidates..... Expenses of R. M. McFarland from July 14 to 26, 1930..... Paid Helen M. Cassidy for typing and clerical assistance in Pennsylvania..... Expenses of self July 12 to 28, 1930..... Globe-Wernicke Co., for office supplies..... Pennsylvania R. R. Co., for transportation July 1..... Expenses of Ingham Mack, investigator, Aug. 5 to 9..... Expenses of Frank Healy, investigator, July 9 to 26..... Expenses of W. H. Baldwin, investigator, July 10 to Aug. 1, 1930..... Expenses of E. M. Daniel, investigator, July 9 to Aug. 1, 1930.....	27.20 242.47 65.15 110.31 1,227.12 19.13 291.02 164.41 292.42 412.94 5.50 195.11 161.50 213.25 119.50 29.63 8.51 33.78 69.84 217.85 231.05 248.74	4,450.34
<i>Fiscal year 1930</i>				
July 7	6	H. J. Loose: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from June 1 to 30, 1930, at \$500 per month.		500.00
	18	Lloyd E. Bemis: For services as accountant in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, for the month of June.		1,034.40
15	20	D. H. McArthur: For expenses incurred as a special investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows— 1930 June 24-26. Railroad and Pullman fare, Washington, D. C., to New York, N. Y., and return..... Hotel room..... Meals..... Tips..... Telephone..... Porter service.....	44.34 20.00 13.50 1.90 1.00 1.00	81.74

Date paid	No. of voucher	To whom paid and for what object	Amount	Total
<i>Fiscal year 1930—Continued</i>				
1930 July 31	102	Howard M. Rice: For reimbursement of expenses incurred from June 23 to June 30, inclusive, as special investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows: Railroad fare and Pullman, Newark to Long Branch and return, Newark to Trenton and return, Newark to Long Branch and return..... Hotel room..... Meals..... Telephone..... Car fare, taxis..... Porterage and tips.....	\$13.61 45.50 37.25 1.70 7.05 4.75	\$109.86
	116	William M. Day: For stenographically reporting and furnishing transcripts of hearings before Select Committee on Senatorial Campaign Expenditures— Hearings in Illinois campaign— 1930 May 1. 3,720 words, at 25 cents per 100..... 18,600 words (5 copies of above), at 5 cents per 100..... Hearings in Pennsylvania campaign— 4,380 words, at 25 cents per 100..... 21,900 words (5 copies of above), at 5 cents per 100..... 26. 50,268 words, at 25 cents per 100..... June 2. 251,340 words, at 5 cents per 100 (5 copies of above)..... Per authority of resolution of Apr. 10, 1930.....	9.30 9.30 10.95 10.95 125.67 125.67	291.84
Aug. 18	35	William M. Day: For stenographically reporting and furnishing transcripts of hearings before Select Committee on Senatorial Campaign Expenditures, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows— Illinois— 1930 July 14. 157,500 words, at 25 cents per 100 words..... 15. 630,000 words, at 5 cents per 100 words (4 copies of above)..... Nebraska— 19. 68,786 words, at 25 cents per 100 words..... 21. 275,144 words, at 5 cents per 100 words (4 copies of above)..... Pennsylvania— Aug. 5. 47,712 words, at 25 cents per 100 words..... 190,848 words, at 5 cents per 100 words (4 copies of above).....	393.75 315.00 171.96 137.57 119.28 95.42	1,232.98
	20	36 Lloyd E. Bemis: For services as accountant, and for services of assistants, in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows— During month of July— 12 days, at \$40..... 13 days, at \$25..... 5 days, at \$25..... Expenses (taxi and car fare).....	480.00 325.00 125.00 8.04	938.04
	30	44 W. Hunter Baldwin: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Aug. 1 to 31, 1930, at \$500 per month..... 45 Edw. M. Daniel: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Aug. 1 to 31, 1930, at \$500 per month..... 46 Frank Healy: For services as special assistant in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Aug. 1 to 31, 1930, at \$500 per month..... 47 Estell C. Healy: For services as assistant secretary rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Aug. 1 to 31, 1930, at \$200 per month..... 49 H. J. Loose: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Aug. 1 to 31, 1930, at \$500 per month..... 50 Ingham G. Mack: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Aug. 4 to 31, 1930, at \$500 per month..... 51 Russell M. McFarland: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Aug. 1 to 31, 1930, at \$500 per month..... 52 Howard M. Rice: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Aug. 1 to 31, 1930, at \$500 per month..... 53 Agnes M. Rydgren: For services as assistant clerk rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Aug. 1 to 31, 1930, at \$150 per month..... 54 Gladys Simpson: For services as assistant clerk rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Aug. 1 to 31, 1930, at \$150 per month..... 55 Western Starr: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Aug. 4 to 31, 1930, at \$500 per month..... 56 J. L. Ward: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Aug. 5 to 31, 1930, at \$500 per month..... 57 John Andrews: For services as secretary rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Aug. 1 to 31, 1930, at \$500 per month..... 59 Charles C. Barnard: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Aug. 5 to 31, 1930, at \$250 per month.....	500.00 500.00 500.00 200.00 500.00 450.00 500.00 500.00 150.00 150.00 450.00 433.33 500.00 216.67	366.67
Sept. 6	61	P. L. Aarhus: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Aug. 9 to 31, 1930, at \$500 per month.....		
13	63	Estell C. Healy: 1930 Sept. 19. For reimbursement of expenses incurred as assistant secretary of the select committee investigating campaign contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Aug. 4 to Sept. 12, as follows: Paid Capital News Co. for newspaper service..... Paid Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Co. for transportation and Pullman charges for Senator Nye and assistants from Washington, D. C., to Chicago, to Salisbury, N. C., to Louisville, Ky., to Elizabeth, N. J., to Glacier Park, Mont., for period from Aug. 9 to Sept. 3..... Paid Western Starr, investigator, traveling expenses, hotel bills, taxi fares, telephone, and incidentals, Aug. 4 to Sept. 1, inclusive..... Expenses of Howard Rice, investigator, Aug. 11 to 30, inclusive.....	27.85 522.15 251.24 162.38	

Date paid	No. of voucher	To whom paid and for what object	Amount	Total
Fiscal year 1930—Continued				
1930 Sept. 13	63	Estell C. Healy—Continued. 1930 Sept. 19. For reimbursement of expenses incurred as assistant secretary of the select committee investigating campaign contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Aug. 4 to Sept. 12, as follows: Expenses of R. M. McFarland, investigator, Aug. 12 to 15..... Expenses of P. L. Aarhus, special assistant, Aug. 10 to 30..... Expenses of Charles C. Barnard from Aug. 4 to Sept. 1..... Expenses of E. M. Daniel, investigator from Aug. 12 to 16..... Expenses of W. H. Baldwin, investigator from Aug. 12 to 16..... Expenses of Frank Healy, special assistant, from July 27 to Aug. 30..... Expenses of J. L. Ward, investigator, from Aug. 5 to Sept. 2..... Expenses of H. J. Loose, investigator, July 1 to 31..... Expenses of Ingham Mack, investigator, Aug. 10 to Sept. 1..... Expenses of Senator Patterson in attending meeting of committee at Belton, Mont., Aug. 27..... Paid to W. Clark Grubbs, witness at Nebraska hearing..... Witness fees in Pennsylvania hearing..... Expenses of self, Washington to Chicago, Aug. 30 to Sept. 2, and for postage, air mail, registry..... Paid Palmer House, Chicago, for rooms and meals..... Paid Lake McDonald Hotel, Glacier Park, Mont., for rooms and meals for members of committee..... Paid Gardner Hotel, Fargo, N. Dak., for members of committee, rooms and meals..... Paid Glacier Park Hotel, Mont., rooms and meals for members of committee..... Paid Many Glacier Hotel, Mont., rooms and meals for members of committee..... Paid Palmer House, Chicago..... Paid to Senator Dill, expenses of attending meeting..... Paid to Senator Duff, expenses of attending meeting..... O. Gunvaldsen, witness fees and expenses, Chicago..... P. B. Grabberg, witness fees and expenses, Chicago..... J. F. Watts, witness fees and expenses.....	\$79.27 228.87 250.43 89.78 86.53 487.90 336.58 24.76 177.76 309.75 3.20 98.00 57.71 60.36 131.07 50.90 205.60 145.86 234.60 73.58 420.00 77.94 77.94 50.25	\$4,719.26
80	75	Charles C. Barnard: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Sept. 1 to 30, at \$250 per month.....	250.00	
	76	Estell C. Healy: For services as assistant secretary rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Sept. 1 to 30, 1930, at \$200 per month.....	200.00	
	77	Ingham G. Mack: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Sept. 1 to 30, at \$500 per month.....	500.00	
	78	Howard M. Rice: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Sept. 1 to 30, at \$500 per month.....	500.00	
	79	Agnes M. Rydgren: For services as assistant clerk rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Sept. 1 to 30, 1930, at \$150 per month.....	150.00	
	80	Gladys Simpson: For services as assistant clerk rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Sept. 1 to 30, 1930, at \$150 per month.....	150.00	
	81	J. L. Ward: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Sept. 1 to 30, at \$500 per month.....	500.00	
	82	P. L. Aarhus: For services as special assistant in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Sept. 1 to 30, at \$500 per month.....	500.00	
	83	John Andrews: For services as secretary rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Sept. 1 to 30, at \$500 per month.....	500.00	
	84	W. Hunter Baldwin: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Sept. 1 to 30, at \$500 per month.....	500.00	
	85	Lloyd E. Bemis: For services and expenses as accountant in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Aug. 7 to 16— 4½ days, at \$40 per day..... 5 days, at \$25 per day..... Railroad fare from Chicago to Lake in the Woods, Fargo, and return..... Room and meals..... Telephone and telegrams..... Taxi, car fare, and tips.....	180.00 125.00 71.42 19.20 4.88 11.05	411.55
	86	Edw. M. Daniel: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Sept. 1 to 30, at \$500 per month.....	500.00	
	87	Frank Healy: For services as special assistant in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Sept. 1 to 30, at \$500 per month.....	500.00	
	88	Western Starr: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Sept. 1 to Sept. 30, at \$500 per month.....	500.00	
Oct. 1	90	Russell M. McFarland: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Sept. 1 to 15, at \$500 per month.....	250.00	
8	92	H. J. Loose: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Sept. 1 to 30, at \$500 per month.....	500.00	
7	94	Satterlee, Binns & Boos: 1930 Sept. 2-3. For stenographically reporting and transcribing hearings at Chicago, Ill., before the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930— 56,000 words, at 25 cents per 100..... 112,000 words (2 carbon copies of above), at 5 cents per 100.....	140.00 56.00	196.00
8	97	Lloyd E. Bemis: 1930 Sept. 2-22. For services as accountant and for services of assistants, in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows— 6 days, at \$40..... ¼ day, at \$25..... 2 days, at \$25..... ¾ day, at \$15.....	240.00 12.50 50.00 7.50	310.00
8	98	William M. Day: 1930 Sept. 22-25. For stenographically reporting and transcribing hearings before the special committee investigating senatorial campaign expenditures, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, 123,200 words, at 25 cents per 100 words..... 616,000 words (5 copies of above) at 5 cents per 100 words.....	308.00 308.00	616.00

Date paid	No. of voucher	To whom paid and for what object	Amount	Total
1930 Oct. 9	99	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Fiscal year 1930—Continued</i></p> <p>Gerald P. Nye, chairman: 1930 Oct. 9. For reimbursement for expenses incurred from Aug. 2 to Sept. 30, 1930, as chairman of the special committee investigating campaign contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows: Transportation for self, members of committee, and investigators, including Pullman charges, meals en route, and portage— Aug. 6, Washington to Chicago..... \$10.80 Aug. 7-8, Chicago to Fargo, N. Dak. (including unfranked telegrams)..... 11.70 Aug. 8, Chicago to Fargo (investigator)..... 10.00 Aug. 16, Fargo to Cooperstown, N. Dak..... 7.50 Aug. 21, Cooperstown to Fargo..... 8.00 Aug. 22-24, Fargo to Glacier Park, Mont..... 112.84 Aug. 26, Belton, Mont., to Fargo (self and Senators Dale, Wagner, and Dill, and clerk)..... 244.85 Aug. 30, Fargo to Chicago (self and Senators Dale, Wagner, and Dill, and clerk)..... 191.85 Aug. 31, Fargo to Chicago (including stop-over at Aurora, Ill., with investigator)..... 25.40 Sept. 1, Chicago to Washington (clerk)..... 36.03 Sept. 4, Chicago to Wittenberg, Wis..... 14.00 Sept. 7, Wittenberg to Chicago (2)..... 26.90 Sept. 10-11, Chicago to Washington, D. C. (2)..... 114.06 Sept. 13-14, Washington to Chicago..... 14.70 Sept. 20-21, Chicago to Lincoln, Nebr. (self and Senator Dale and clerk)..... 29.30 Sept. 25, Lincoln to Chicago..... 16.50 Sept. 26-27, Chicago to Washington, D. C. (2)..... 14.90</p> <p>Subsistence— Aug. 2-6, Pennsylvania hearing at Washington, D. C. (with 4 investigators)..... 48.50 Aug. 27-30, at Fargo, N. Dak..... 18.70 Aug. 31, at Aurora, Ill. (with investigator)..... 3.85 Sept. 2-3, at Chicago (self, Senator Dale, and investigators)..... 69.70 Sept. 25, at Lincoln, Nebr. (for 4)..... 6.70 Sept. 27, 29-30, at Washington (self and 4 investigators)..... 14.25</p> <p>Hotel accommodations— Aug. 8-9, Fargo, N. Dak. (including meals and portage)..... 15.20 Aug. 14-15, Fargo, N. Dak. (including meals and portage)..... 23.40 Aug. 21-22, Fargo, N. Dak. (including meals and portage)..... 24.78 Aug. 31, Chicago..... 6.40 Sept. 1, Chicago..... 9.65</p> <p>Taxi fares, telephone, unfranked telegrams, periodicals, etc.— Aug. 7, expenses at Chicago..... 9.65 Aug. 8, at Fargo (telephone to Nebraska and Colorado)..... 18.90 Aug. 18, 19, telegrams at Cooperstown (unfranked)..... 5.84 Aug. 22, at Fargo (taxi and portage)..... 3.30 Aug. 23-26, Glacier Park, Mont. (including meals, for self, Senators Dale, Wagner, and Dill, and clerk)..... 35.00 Aug. 27-30, at Fargo..... 7.75 Sept. 8, 9, at Chicago..... 19.70 Sept. 12, 13, at Washington, D. C..... 18.75 Sept. 14, at Chicago..... 21.25 Sept. 15-19, at Chicago (including special clerk hire)..... 100.25 Sept. 22-25, at Lincoln, Nebr. (including some subsistence)..... 34.25 Sept. 26, at Chicago..... 8.10</p> <p>\$889.33</p> <p>161.70</p> <p>79.43</p> <p>282.74</p>		
10	102	<p>D. H. McArthur and John Andrews: 1930 Aug. 6-22, and Aug. 30-Sept. 9. For reimbursement of expenses incurred as special investigators for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, in the States of Tennessee, Oklahoma, Illinois, and Minnesota, as follows— Railroad fare..... 385.00 Pullman fare..... 138.00 Subsistence, 27 days..... 324.00 Hotel rooms..... 310.50 Taxis and automobiles..... 29.35 Tips..... 50.90 Portage..... 18.20 Incidentals..... 21.45</p> <p>1,277.40 Less check from Gerald P. Nye, chairman..... 1,000.00</p>		\$1,413.20
11	103	<p>Dennis H. Cronin: 1930 July 18 to Sept. 20. For reimbursement of expenses incurred as United States marshal in service of subpoenas upon witnesses summoned for appearance before the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930 (subpoenas served in Nebraska).....</p>		277.40
15	104	<p>C. W. Cushing: 1930 July 10 to July 16. For reimbursement of expenses, including fees, as United States marshal in service of subpoenas upon witnesses summoned for appearance before the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930 (subpoenas served in Illinois).....</p>		54.16
105	Donald O. Nye: 1930	<p>Oct. 13. For reimbursement of expenses incurred by members of committee and their assistants in connection with the investigation of campaign contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows— Paid to Myron N. Wilson for expenses as special investigator from July 15-17..... 45.03 Paid to Whitefield Sammis, reporter, for expenses in connection with reporting proceedings at Chicago from July 12 to 18 and from Sept. 14 to 19— Transportation and Pullman charges, Washington, D. C., to Chicago and return..... \$144.12 Hotel accommodations at Chicago..... 26.50 Subsistence en route and at Chicago..... 33.00</p> <p>Paid to William M. Day, official reporter, for expenses in connection with reporting proceedings at Chicago from July 12 to 18— Transportation, including Pullman charges, from Washington to Chicago and return..... 72.06 Hotel accommodations at Chicago..... 14.00 Subsistence en route and at Chicago..... 18.00</p> <p>Paid to E. A. Van Doren for expenses as special assistant for service of subpoena on Walter Kiechel on Sept. 24.....</p>	45.03 203.62 104.06 18.05	12.74

Date paid	No. of voucher	To whom paid and for what object	Amount	Total
1930 Oct. 15	105	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Fiscal year, 1930—Continued</i></p> <p>Donald O. Nye—Continued.</p> <p>1930</p> <p>Oct. 13. For reimbursement of expenses incurred by members of committee and their assistants in connection with the investigation of campaign contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows—Con.</p> <p>Paid to Mrs. E. C. Healy, assistant clerk, for expenses at Chicago, Sept. 14 to 22—</p> <p>Transportation, including Pullman charges, Chicago to Washington, D. C. \$10.13</p> <p>Subsistence at Chicago 28.40</p> <p>Taxi fares and portage 13.15</p> <p>Paid to Palmer House, Chicago, for accommodations for Senators, Nye, Dale, and Wagner and assistants for period of Sept. 14 to 20 497.01</p> <p>Paid in advance to D. H. McArthur and John Andrews on Aug. 6, for expenses for investigation in Tennessee, Oklahoma, Illinois, and Minnesota, as itemized in voucher paid Oct. 10, in which voucher credit was allowed 1,000.00</p> <p>Paid to Capital News Co. for periodicals delivered during month of September 13.00</p> <p>Paid to Pennsylvania R. R. Co. for transportation and Pullman charges for W. H. Baldwin and E. M. Daniel from Washington, D. C., to Chicago on Sept. 29 72.06</p> <p>Paid to Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Co. for transportation and Pullman charges for Senator Nye and assistants from Washington, D. C., to Chicago and St. Paul, Sept. 13-15 293.24</p> <p>Paid to Chicago, Burlington & Quincy R. R. Co. for transportation and Pullman charges for Senators Nye and Dale and assistants from Lincoln to Chicago, to Omaha and to Washington, D. C., Sept. 25 249.28</p> <p>Paid Hotel Cornhusker, Lincoln, Nebr., for accommodations for Senators Nye and Dale and assistants for period of Sept. 21 to 25 295.35</p> <p>Paid Western Union Telegraph Co., Lincoln, Nebr., for charges on telegram to Senator Steiwer which was undeliverable at address 1.20</p> <p>Paid to Lincoln Telephone & Telegraph Co., for July charges on long-distance calls 37.70</p> <p>Paid to St. Louis Post-Dispatch for periodicals 5.00</p> <p>Paid to H. L. Wilson, A. Paul Johnson, A. R. Humphrey, and Y. B. Huffman, of Broken Bow, and Jack Hayward, of Lincoln, for witness fees and expenses in Nebraska hearings, July 14 to 21 289.42</p> <p>Paid to Claire C. Edwards, Waukegan, R. L. Radcliffe, Springfield, and M. F. Walsh, Harvard, Ill., for witness fees and expenses in Illinois hearing Sept. 18 to 19 29.04</p> <p>Paid to Wm. E. Shuman, Albert Haspel, Henry Kahler, and Minnie Kahler, all of North Platte; Walter Klechel, of Johnson; Esther M. Alton, D. R. Littlejohn, G. B. Thomas, and R. E. Atkinson, all of Lincoln; Y. B. Huffman, of Broken Bow, and Geo. W. Norris, of Enid, Okla., for witness fees and expenses in Nebraska hearings Sept. 21 to 25 286.31</p> <p>Paid Griggs County Telephone Co., Cooperstown, N. Dak., for long-distance telephone to Lincoln and Denver, Aug. 18 23.75</p> <p>Paid for transportation for Senators Nye and Dale and assistants from Chicago to Lincoln, Sept. 20 118.64</p> <p>Paid to H. A. Brown and R. A. Hammer, both of Cooperstown, N. Dak., for witness fees and expenses for Fargo hearing, Sept. 15 32.85</p> <p>Paid to Senator Patterson for reimbursement of expenses in attending hearing in Chicago, Sept. 14 to 17—</p> <p>Transportation, including Pullman charges, Kansas City to Chicago and return \$58.64</p> <p>Hotel accommodations at Chicago 18.00</p> <p>Subsistence en route and at Chicago 30.00</p> <p>Taxi fares and portage 5.35</p> <p>Paid to Senator Dill for reimbursement of expenses in attending hearing at Chicago, Sept. 14-20—</p> <p>Transportation, including Pullman charges, Spokane to Chicago and return \$75.28</p> <p>Subsistence en route and at Chicago 43.96</p> <p>Taxi fares and portage 1.85</p> <p>Paid to Senator Wagner for reimbursement of expenses, in attending hearing at Chicago, Sept. 14 to 18—</p> <p>Transportation, including Pullman charges, New York to Chicago and return 142.26</p> <p>Subsistence en route 2.50</p> <p>Paid to Senator Nye for reimbursement of expenses, including transportation and Pullman charges, for assistants, Washington, D. C., to Chicago, Sept. 15 47.00</p> <p>Paid to Senator Nye for reimbursement of expenses for himself, Senator Patterson, and assistants in attending hearing at Wilmington, Del., and New York, Oct. 9 to 11—</p> <p>Transportation, including Pullman charges, Wilmington to New York and return to Washington, D. C. 58.56</p> <p>Hotel accommodations at New York and Wilmington 38.10</p> <p>Subsistence en route and at Wilmington and New York 22.80</p> <p>Taxi fares, portage, and telephone 25.20</p> <p>Paid to John Andrews, secretary, for reimbursement of expenses from Sept. 21 to Oct. 2—</p> <p>Transportation, including Pullman charges—</p> <p>Chicago to St. Paul, Minn. \$21.77</p> <p>St. Paul to Lincoln, Nebr. 18.42</p> <p>Omaha to St. Paul 16.44</p> <p>St. Paul to Washington, D. C. 54.05</p> <p>Subsistence en route and at stops 110.68</p> <p>Hotel accommodations at Lincoln 62.20</p> <p>Taxi fares, telephone and telegraph, and portage 3.50</p> <p>Less advance at Lincoln, Nebr. 35.48</p> <p>Paid to Western Starr, investigator, for expenses at Boston from Sept. 2 to Oct. 6—</p> <p>Transportation, including Pullman charges, Washington to Boston and return 217.86</p> <p>Hotel accommodations 139.50</p> <p>Subsistence 78.36</p> <p>Taxi fares, bus, and auto hire 73.33</p> <p>Telephone and telegraph 125.90</p> <p>Paid to Howard M. Rice, investigator, for expenses from Sept. 3 to Oct. 7—</p> <p>Transportation, including Pullman charges—</p> <p>Sept. 3, Washington to Philadelphia \$4.90</p> <p>4-5, Philadelphia to Newark and to Brunswick, N. J. 2.74</p> <p>30 and Oct. 4-7, Washington to Wilmington and return 15.76</p> <p>Hotel accommodations at Philadelphia, New Brunswick, Newark, Trenton and Wilmington 23.40</p> <p>Subsistence (as above) and en route 84.00</p> <p>Taxi fares and portage 71.15</p> <p>Telephone and telegrams 17.45</p> <p>Paid to Ingham G. Mack, investigator, for expenses at Newark, N. J., and en route, from Sept. 8 to 26—</p> <p>Transportation, via auto, from Washington, D. C., to Newark and adjacent cities in New Jersey and return—</p> <p>Sept. 8-12, 506 miles at 5 cents \$25.30</p> <p>Sept. 13-19, 684 miles at 7 cents 49.88</p> <p>Sept. 23-26, 583 miles at 7 cents 40.81</p> <p>Hotel accommodations at Newark 115.99</p> <p>Subsistence en route and at Newark 50.00</p> <p>Portage, telephone, and telegrams 48.25</p>		
			240.80	

Date paid	No. of voucher	To whom paid and for what object	Amount	Total
1930 Oct. 15	105	<i>Fiscal year 1930—Continued</i> Donald O. Nye—Continued. 1930 Oct. 13. For reimbursement of expenses incurred by members of committee and their assistants in connection with the investigation of campaign contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows—Con. Paid to P. L. Aarhus, investigator, for expenses at Fort Collins, Estes Park, Longmont, Boulder, and Denver, Colo., and at Lincoln, Nebr., from Aug. 31 to Oct. 4— Transportation, including Pullman charges— Aug. 31–Sept. 1, Fort Collins to Estes Park and return..... \$10.00 Sept. 2, Fort Collins to Longmont, Boulder, and Denver..... 3.50 4, Denver to Longmont and Boulder and return..... 3.50 21 Denver to Lincoln..... 21.10 23 Lincoln to Denver..... 23.04 Hotel accommodations..... 75.50 Subsistence..... 112.25 Taxi fares and portage..... 67.43 Telephone and telegrams..... 16.13 Postage and registry at Denver, Sept. 9 to 13..... 72.26 Paid to Chas. C. Barnard, investigator, for expenses Sept. 2 to Oct. 6— Transportation, including Pullman charges, from Chattanooga to Knoxville, to Nashville, to Memphis and to Chicago and return, Sept. 3 to 23..... 76.26 Hotel accommodations..... 118.00 Subsistence..... 90.80 Taxi fares and portage..... 40.16 Telephone and telegrams..... 12.11 Paid to E. M. Daniel, investigator, for expenses, from Aug. 17 to Oct. 4— Transportation, including Pullman charges, from Chicago to Joliet, to Fargo, to Aurora, and to Washington, D. C..... 75.29 Hotel accommodations at Chicago..... 138.00 Subsistence at Chicago..... 113.65 Taxi fares and portage..... 122.64 Telephone, telegrams, and express..... 41.82 Paid to W. Hunter Baldwin, investigator, for expenses from Aug. 17 to Oct. 4— Transportation, including Pullman charges, from Chicago to Joliet, to Fargo, and to Washington, D. C..... \$72.60 Hotel accommodations at Chicago..... 140.00 Subsistence at Chicago, including dinner for Senator Nye and party on Aug. 31 and Sept. 1..... 165.55 Taxi fares and portage (including expense of Senator Nye and party on Sept. 15)..... 116.46 Telephone and telegrams..... 28.00 Paid to H. J. Loose, investigator, for expenses during month of August— Transportation from Chicago to Mount Prospect..... \$1.00 Subsistence..... 3.95 Telephone..... 1.25 Special clerk hire..... 1.25 Paid to J. L. Ward, investigator, for expenses from Sept. 3–Oct. 3— Transportation, including Pullman charges, from Washington, D. C., to Greensboro, to Wilson, to Asheville, to Charlotte and return..... 138.97 Hotel accommodations..... 81.00 Subsistence..... 86.65 Taxi fares, portage, extra clerk hire, and typewriter rental..... 212.17 Telephone and telegrams..... 45.88 Paid to Frank E. Healy, investigator, for expenses from Aug. 31 to Oct. 4— Transportation, including Pullman charges, from Fort Collins to La Salle, to North Platte, to Omaha, to Lincoln, to Denver, to Colorado Springs, to Pueblo, to Chicago, to Broken Bow, and return..... 161.13 Hotel accommodations..... 70.75 Subsistence..... 120.30 Taxi fares, bus fares, portage and hire of car to visit polling places and for auto hire for service of subpoena..... 86.82 Telephone and telegrams..... 27.68 466.68 \$8,214.62		
15	107	Arthur R. Clark: 1930 Sept. 12. For reimbursement of expenses, including fees, as United States marshal, in service of subpoenas upon witnesses summoned for appearance before the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930 (subpoenas served in Illinois).....		4.90
	108	Southern Railway Co.: 1930 Oct. 13. For transportation furnished Senators Nye, Wagner, and Patterson and assistants, including Pullman charges, from Washington, D. C., to Raleigh, N. C., and to Nashville, Tenn., in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows— 10 tickets, Washington, D. C., to Raleigh, N. C..... 102.40 3 drawing rooms, Washington to Raleigh..... 40.50 4 lower berths, Washington to Raleigh..... 15.00 4 tickets, Raleigh, N. C., to Nashville, Tenn..... 91.20 1 drawing room and 2 lowers, Raleigh to Nashville..... 46.50 295.60		
31	120	P. L. Aarhus: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Oct. 1 to 31, at \$500 per month.....		500.00
	121	John Andrews: For services as secretary rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Oct. 1 to 31, at \$500 per month.....		500.00
	122	W. Hunter Baldwin: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Oct. 1 to 31, at \$500 per month.....		500.00
	123	Charles C. Barnard: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Oct. 1 to 31, at \$250 per month.....		250.00
	124	F. H. Creech: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Oct. 7 to 31, at \$500 per month.....		400.00
	125	Edw. M. Daniel: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Oct. 1 to 31, at \$500 per month.....		500.00
	126	Estell C. Healy: For services as assistant clerk rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Oct. 1 to 31, at \$200 per month.....		200.00
	127	Frank Healy: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Oct. 1 to 31, at \$500 per month.....		500.00
	128	Joseph E. Johnson: For services as assistant clerk rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Oct. 1 to 31, at \$200 per month.....		200.00

Date paid	No. of voucher	To whom paid and for what object	Amount	Total
<i>Fiscal year 1930—Continued</i>				
1930 Oct. 31	129	Russell M. McFarland: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Oct. 25 to 31, at \$500 per month.....		\$100.00
	130	Ingham G. Mack: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Oct. 1, to 31, at \$500 per month.....		500.00
	131	P. D. Norton: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Oct. 9 to 31, at \$500 per month.....		366.67
	132	Bernard D. Reed: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, for the month of October.....		275.00
	133	Howard M. Rice: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Oct. 1 to 31, at \$500 per month.....		500.00
	134	Agnes M. Rydgren: For services as assistant clerk rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Oct. 1 to 31, 1930, at \$150 per month.....		150.00
	135	Gladys I. Simpson: For services as assistant clerk rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Oct. 1 to 31, 1930, at \$150 per month.....		150.00
	136	Western Starr: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Oct. 1 to 31, at \$500 per month.....		500.00
	137	J. L. Ward: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Oct. 1 to 31, at \$500 per month.....		500.00
	138	Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Co.: For transportation furnished to Senator Nye and F. H. Creech, special investigator, of the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows: 1930 Oct. 8. Railroad fare and Pullman, Washington, D. C., to Lincoln, Nebr., via Chicago..... Oct. 10. Railroad fare and Pullman, Washington, D. C., to Wilmington, Del., and return.....	\$55.94 9.68	65.62
	139	H. J. Loose: For services as special investigator in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Oct. 1 to 31, at \$500 per month.....		500.00
	141	Ingham G. Mack: For reimbursement of expenses incurred as an investigator for the special committee investigating campaign contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under authority of resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Sept. 30 to Oct. 29, 1930, as follows: Automobile transportation covering passage from Washington, D. C., to Fairmont, Parkersburg, Charleston, Huntington, Logan, Welch, Bluefield, Pineville, Beckley, Hinton, Union, Lewisburg, Fayetteville, Mount Hope, Glen Jean, Summersville, Sutton, Clarksburg, Philippi, Buckhannon, Spencer, Clay, Charleston, Parkersburg, West Union, Middlebourne, Sistersville, Wheeling, Moundsville, Fairmont, Morgantown, Kingwood, Keyser, Martinsburg, Sheperdstown (all in the State of West Virginia), and return to Washington, D. C., in all 2,183 miles, at 7 cents per mile..... Round-trip ticket covering airplane transportation from Washington, D. C., to New York City and return, via Ludington Air Lines..... Railroad and Pullman transportation from New York City to Washington, D. C..... Hotel accommodations..... Meals..... Tips, portorage, taxicabs, telephone calls, and telegrams.....	152.81 25.25 10.02 53.00 67.55 51.01	
		Refund on airplane transportation not used from New York City to Washington, D. C.....	359.64 12.63	347.01
Nov. 4	144	Howard M. Rice: For reimbursement of expenses incurred as an investigator for the special committee investigating campaign contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Oct. 24 to Oct. 30, as follows— Automobile transportation covering passage from Wilmington to Harrington, Del., to Washington, D. C., to Georgetown, Del., to Bridgeville, Del., and return—483 miles in all, at 7 cents per mile..... Hotel accommodations at Wilmington, Del..... Subsistence..... Telephone and telegrams..... Taxi fares and portorage.....	33.80 17.50 16.75 1.75 2.10	71.90
5	146	Donald O. Nye: For reimbursement of expenses in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Oct. 31 to Nov. 4, as follows— Transportation, including Pullman charges, from Washington, D. C., to Boston and return, with stopover at New York and adjacent points..... Hotel accommodations at New York..... Subsistence..... Telephone and telegrams..... Taxi fares and portorage.....	53.85 21.00 22.55 .85 13.05	111.30
7	148	Donald O. Nye: For reimbursement of expenses incurred by members of the committee and their assistants in connection with the investigation of campaign contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows— 1930 Nov. 6. Paid to Battery Park Hotel, Asheville, N. C., for accommodations for Senator Patterson and assistants, on Oct. 14, as follows— Transportation, including Pullman, Asheville, N. C., to Washington, D. C..... Hotel accommodations..... Subsistence (including Senator Wagner)..... Telegrams..... Taxi fares and portorage..... Paid to Du Pont Biltmore Hotel, Wilmington, Del., for accommodations for Senator Patterson, on Oct. 9 and 10..... Paid to Globe-Wernicke Co. for repairs to safe..... Paid to D. H. McArthur for expenses incurred in the investigation in North Carolina, from Oct. 12 to 16, inclusive, as follows— Hotel at Richmond, Va..... Subsistence en route..... Taxi and bus fares and portorage..... Paid to John Andrews, secretary, for reimbursement of expenses incurred in the investigation of campaign contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates in Nebraska on Oct. 2, by rebate from Chicago, Burlington & Quincy R. R..... Paid to R. L. Radcliffe, Springfield, Ill., for witness fees and expenses in Illinois hearing, Sept. 18 and 19, in addition to vouchers paid Oct. 14..... Paid to Senator R. C. Patterson for reimbursement of expenses for himself and assistant incurred in attending hearings in North Carolina, Oct. 7 to 14, inclusive, as follows— Transportation, including Pullman charges, Kansas City to Washington, D. C., and return..... St. Louis to Washington, D. C., and return..... Asheville, N. C., to Washington, D. C..... Hotel accommodations and subsistence..... Taxi fares and portorage.....	\$44.96 13.50 8.35 .60 1.72 69.13 5.00 2.50 \$3.00 10.50 8.45 21.95 59.30 .16 \$115.90 83.08 45.48 75.25 46.50	366.21

Date paid	No. of voucher	To whom paid and for what object	Amount	Total
1930 Nov. 7	148	<i>Fiscal year 1930—Continued</i>		
		Donald O. Nye—Continued.		
		Paid to W. I. Conway, United States deputy marshal, Washington, D. C., for reimbursement of expenses in attending hearing in Illinois on Sept. 3.....	\$8.25	
		Paid to Arthur R. Clark, United States marshal, Danville, Ill., for reimbursement of expenses, including fees, in the service of subpoena upon R. E. Duval, Belleville, Ill., a witness summoned for appearance at hearing in Illinois on July 11.....	1.34	
		Paid to Southern Ry. system for transportation, including Pullman charges, for Senator Wagner, from Raleigh, N. C., to Nashville, Tenn.....	59.10	
		Paid to Southern Ry. system for transportation, including Pullman charges, for Senator Patterson and assistants, from Raleigh, to Asheville, N. C.....	77.55	
		Paid to Sir Walter Hotel, Raleigh, N. C., for accommodations for Senators Nye, Patterson, and Wagner and assistants, on Oct. 12 and 13.....	90.80	
		Paid to Southern Ry. system for transportation, including Pullman charges, for Senator Wagner, from Asheville, N. C., to Knoxville and Nashville, Tenn.....	22.95	
		Paid to Battery Park Hotel, Asheville, N. C., for accommodations for Senators Nye and Wagner and assistants, on Oct. 14.....	13.75	
		Paid to J. D. Hunt, of Jackson; C. S. Sherrod, of Humboldt; and H. H. Waller, of Knoxville, Tenn., for witness fees and expenses in Tennessee hearing, Oct. 14 and 15.....	70.89	
		Paid to Andrew Jackson Hotel, Nashville, Tenn., for accommodations for Senators Nye and Wagner and assistants, from Oct. 12 to 16.....	114.25	
		Paid to Andrew Jackson ticket office, Nashville, Tenn., for transportation, including Pullman charges, for Senators Nye and Wagner and assistants, from Nashville to Memphis, on Oct. 16.....	135.30	
		Paid to Peabody ticket office, Memphis, Tenn., for transportation, including Pullman charges, from Memphis to Dickinson, N. Dak., for Miss Rabe, an assistant, on Oct. 18.....	83.58	
		Paid to Senator Wagner for reimbursement of expenses incurred in the investigation in Massachusetts.....	77.05	
		Paid to J. M. Chamberlain, of Lafayette; H. W. Mills, of Brighton; Dr. B. L. Jeter of Millington; J. G. Osborne, of Stewartville; Geo. W. Massey, of Atoka; Ben Lauenhaupt and Shula Jamieson, of Covington; Albert J. Ferguson and Robert Stewart, of Brunswick; and Lester Brenner, Willie Lester, Yandell Haun, and L. Dacus, of Memphis, all in Tennessee, for witness fees and expenses in attending hearings on Oct. 19 and 20.....	83.71	
		Paid to Peabody ticket office, Memphis, Tenn., for transportation, including Pullman charges for Senators Nye and Wagner and assistants, as follows—		
		Memphis to New York.....	\$128.92	
		Memphis to Washington, D. C.....	45.13	
		Memphis to Omaha, Nebr.....	66.08	
		Paid to Hotel Peabody, Memphis, Tenn., for accommodations for Senators Nye and Wagner and assistants, from Oct. 17 to 20.....	240.13	
		Paid to Paxton Hotel, Omaha, Nebr., for accommodations for Senator Nye and assistants, Oct. 21 and 22.....	264.92	
		Paid to Chicago, Burlington & Quincy R. R. Co., for transportation, including Pullman charges, for Senator Nye and assistants from Omaha to Lincoln, Oct. 22.....	29.95	
		Paid to J. J. Novak, of Wilber; Oscar Drake, of Kearney; and Will Maupin, of Hastings, Nebr., for witness fees and expenses in attending hearing at Lincoln, Oct. 23.....	7.92	
		Paid to E. A. Van Doren, special assistant, for reimbursement of expenses, including fees, in the service of subpoenas upon witnesses summoned for appearance before the committee at Lincoln, Nebr., on Oct. 23.....	33.91	
		Paid to Hotel Cornhusker, Lincoln, Nebr., for accommodations for Senator Nye and assistants, including transportation and Pullman charges, from Lincoln to Denver, Colo., on Oct. 22 and 23.....	45.44	
		Paid to Chicago, Burlington & Quincy R. R. Co., for transportation, including Pullman charges, for Senator Nye and assistant, from Denver to Billings, Mont., on Oct. 24.....	91.87	
		Paid to Brown Palace Hotel, Denver, Colo., for accommodations for Senator Nye and assistants on Oct. 24.....	70.56	
		Paid to New Grand Hotel, Billings, Mont., for accommodations for Senator Nye, including long-distance telephone, on Oct. 25 and 26.....	22.23	
		Paid to Senator Nye for transportation and Pullman charges for himself and assistant, from Billings, Mont., to Fargo, N. Dak., and St. Paul, Minn., on Oct. 24.....	8.55	
		Paid to P. L. Aarhus, investigator, for expenses in Nebraska and Colorado, Oct. 5 to Nov. 1, inclusive—	80.90	
		Transportation, including Pullman charges, from Denver to adjacent points in Colorado, and to Lincoln and adjacent points in Nebraska.....	\$89.07	
		Hotel accommodations.....	51.00	
		Subsistence.....	62.50	
		Telephone and telegrams.....	8.65	
		Taxi fares, bus, and portage.....	20.31	
		Extra clerk hire and typewriter rental.....	17.95	
		Paid to W. Hunter, Baldwin, investigator, for expenses in Illinois and Tennessee, Oct. 5 to Nov. 1, inclusive—	249.49	
		Transportation and Pullman charges—		
		Chicago to Nashville.....	20.82	
		Memphis to Chicago.....	26.46	
		Hotel at Chicago.....	72.00	
		Subsistence.....	104.65	
		Telephone and telegrams.....	10.99	
		Taxi fares and portage.....	42.03	
		Paid to Capital News Co., for periodicals delivered during month of October.....	276.95	
		Paid to Charles C. Barnard, investigator, for expenses in Tennessee, Oct. 7 to 27—	11.00	
		Transportation, including Pullman charges, from Memphis to Nashville.....	12.58	
		Automobile hire.....	9.00	
		Hotel.....	57.00	
		Subsistence.....	50.05	
		Telephone and telegrams.....	20.36	
		Taxi fares, portage, and typewriter rental.....	45.40	
		Paid to F. H. Creech, investigator, for expenses in Nebraska, Oct. 9 to 27, inclusive—	194.30	
		Transportation, including Pullman charges—		
		Chicago to Lincoln.....	5.25	
		Lincoln to Omaha and return.....	11.73	
		Hotel at Lincoln.....	53.00	
		Subsistence.....	70.80	
		Telephone and telegrams.....	4.10	
		Taxi and bus fares and portage.....	40.37	
		Paid to E. M. Daniel, investigator, for expenses in Illinois and Tennessee, Oct. 5 to Nov. 1—	135.25	
		Transportation, including Pullman charges—		
		Chicago to Nashville.....	20.82	
		Memphis to Chicago.....	26.46	
		Hotel at Chicago.....	72.00	
		Subsistence.....	85.90	
		Telephone and telegrams.....	10.70	
		Taxi fares and portage.....	58.38	
		Paid to Frank E. Healy, investigator, for expenses in Nebraska, Oct. 5 to 25—	274.26	
		Transportation, including Pullman charges from Lincoln to Omaha and adjacent points in Nebraska and return.....	40.12	
		Hotel.....	53.50	
		Subsistence.....	78.55	
		Telephone and telegrams.....	18.22	
		Taxi fares, portage, and typewriter rental.....	30.22	
		Paid to H. J. Loose, investigator, for expenses in Illinois during month of September, including transportation, Chicago to Belvidere and Rockford.....	221.21	
			13.26	

Date paid	No. of voucher	To whom paid and for what object	Amount	Total
<i>Fiscal year 1930—Continued</i>				
1930 Nov. 7	148	Donald O. Nye—Continued. Paid to Bernard D. Reed, investigator, for expenses in Delaware during month of October— Transportation, including Pullman charges, from Washington, D. C., to New York and Delaware (Wilmington) and return.....	\$27.88	
		Hotel.....	24.00	
		Subsistence.....	16.60	
		Telephone and telegrams.....	2.10	
		Taxi fares and portage.....	4.44	
			\$75.00	
		Paid to P. D. Norton, investigator, for expenses in Montana, Oct. 11 to Nov. 1— Transportation, including Pullman charges and bus fares, from Minot, N. Dak., to Miles City and adjacent points in Montana.....	70.46	
		Hotel.....	44.00	
		Subsistence.....	61.30	
		Telephone and telegrams.....	13.56	
		Extra clerk and automobile hire.....	47.50	
		Taxi fares and portage.....	18.33	
			255.15	
		Paid to Howard M. Rice, investigator, for expenses in Delaware, from Oct. 8 to 23— Transportation, including Pullman charges, from Washington, D. C., to New York and to Wilmington and adjacent points in Delaware and return.....	44.87	
		Hotel.....	44.50	
		Subsistence.....	33.20	
		Telephone and telegrams.....	2.75	
		Taxi fares and portage.....	10.45	
			135.77	
		Paid to Western Starr, investigator, for expenses in Massachusetts, from Oct. 7 to Nov. 3— Hotel at Boston.....	63.00	
		Subsistence.....	61.45	
		Telephone and telegrams.....	1.18	
		Taxi fares and portage.....	18.82	
		Automobile hire for Senator Wagner.....	50.00	
			194.45	
		Paid to J. L. Ward, investigator, for expenses in North Carolina from Oct. 4 to 19— Transportation, including Pullman charges, from Washington, D. C., to Asheville and adjacent points in North Carolina and return.....	83.64	
		Hotel.....	34.00	
		Subsistence.....	41.85	
		Telephone and telegrams.....	29.12	
		Taxi fares, bus, and portage.....	35.70	
		Extra clerk hire and automobile hire.....	85.95	
			310.26	
		Paid to Russell M. McFarland, investigator, for expenses in Pennsylvania, Oct. 27 to Nov. 2— Automobile transportation, covering mileage from Washington, D. C., to Philadelphia and Scranton, and other adjacent points in Pennsylvania, in all 761 miles, at 7 cents per mile.....	53.27	
		Hotel.....	18.50	
		Subsistence.....	18.30	
		Telephone and telegrams.....	3.62	
		Taxi fares and portage.....	3.46	
			97.15	
			\$4,752.74	
8	150	John Andrews: For reimbursement of expenses incurred as secretary for the special committee investigating campaign contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates in North Carolina, Tennessee, Nebraska, Colorado, Montana, and Minnesota, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Oct. 12 to Nov. 1, as follows— 1930 Nov. 5. Transportation, including Pullman charges— Kansas City to Omaha.....	\$7.50	
		Fargo to St. Paul.....	1.50	
		St. Paul to Washington, D. C.....	54.05	
			63.05	
		Subsistence (including Senators Nye, Patterson, and Wagner and assistants).....	151.30	
		Telephone and telegrams.....	5.90	
		Taxi fares and portage (including Senators Nye, Patterson, and Wagner and assistants).....	68.35	
			288.60	
10	151	Charles C. Barnard: For reimbursement of expenses incurred in the investigation of campaign contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates in Tennessee, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Oct. 28 to Nov. 3, as follows— Transportation, including Pullman charges, from Nashville to Memphis, Oct. 29.....	12.58	
		Hotel accommodations at Nashville and Memphis.....	23.50	
		Subsistence.....	19.95	
		Telephone and telegrams.....	10.59	
		Taxi fares and portage.....	11.38	
		Typewriter rental.....	2.00	
			80.00	
	152	William M. Day: For reimbursement of expenses as reporter in the investigation of campaign contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows— Transportation, including Pullman charges, from Chicago to Lincoln on Sept. 18, \$25.16; Washington, D. C., to Wilmington, Del., Oct. 9, \$4.84.....	30.00	
		Hotel accommodations at Chicago, Sept. 14 to 18, \$23; St. Louis, Sept. 19, \$3.50; New York, Oct. 10, \$5.....	31.50	
		Subsistence from Sept. 14 to 20 and from Oct. 9 to 20, inclusive.....	42.10	
		Telephone and telegrams.....	4.27	
		Taxi fares and portage.....	7.10	
			114.97	
		Less advance at Lincoln, Nebr., on Sept. 23.....	19.80	
			95.17	
	153	Frank Healy: For reimbursement of expenses incurred as investigator in Nebraska in the investigation of campaign contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Oct. 26 to Nov. 1, inclusive, as follows— Transportation, including Pullman charges, from Omaha to Lincoln, to Broken Bow, and to other points in Nebraska and return.....	24.39	
		Hotel accommodations.....	23.50	
		Subsistence.....	29.65	
		Telephone and telegrams.....	7.40	
		Taxi and portage.....	9.25	
			94.19	

Date paid	No. of voucher	To whom paid and for what object	Amount	Total
Fiscal year 1930—Continued				
1930 Nov. 10	155	Jas. H. McQueeny: For services as special expert investigator and reimbursement for amounts paid to assistant investigators engaged in investigating campaign contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, pursuant to resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, and expenses incurred by self and assistants in such service from Aug. 18 to Sept. 16, as follows— Service of self, 29 days, at \$15 per day..... Service of assistant, 6 days, at \$15 per day..... Service of assistant, 29 days, at \$15 per day..... Service of assistant, 19 days, at \$15 per day..... Service of assistant, 2 days, at \$15 per day..... Service of assistant, 6 days, at \$15 per day..... Subsistence..... Car fares..... Telephone service..... Auto hire, 5 days, at \$20 per day.....	\$435.00 90.00 435.00 285.00 30.00 90.00 46.50 18.50 6.40 100.00	\$1,536.40
12	156	W. Hunter Baldwin: For reimbursement of expenses as investigator incurred in the investigation of campaign contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates in Illinois under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Nov. 2 to 8, as follows— Hotel accommodations at Chicago..... Subsistence..... Telephone and telegrams..... Taxi fares and portage, including auto hire visiting polling places.....	28.00 26.15 4.69 19.40	
	157	Edw. M. Daniel: For reimbursement of expenses as investigator incurred in the investigation of campaign contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates in Illinois under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Nov. 2 to 8, as follows— Hotel accommodations at Chicago..... Subsistence..... Telephone and telegrams..... Taxi fares and portage, including auto hire visiting polling places.....	28.00 25.75 4.82 13.10	78.24
	158	Sidney M. Smith: For stenographically reporting and furnishing transcripts of hearings before select committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, and for transportation expenses incurred in such service at Omaha on Oct. 22, and at Lincoln on Oct. 23, 1930, as follows— 52,182 words, at 25 cents per 100 words..... 5 copies of above, at 5 cents per 100 words..... Railroad fare, including Pullman charges, from Omaha to Lincoln and return (2 trips).....	130.45 130.45 6.00	266.90
	175	Estell C. Healy: For services as clerk in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Nov. 1 to 15, 1930, at \$200 per month.....		100.00
	176	Ingham G. Mack: For reimbursement of expenses incurred as investigator for the committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Nov. 3 to 10, inclusive, as follows— Automobile transportation from Washington, D. C., to Bluefield and adjacent points in West Virginia and return, 1,379 miles, at 7 cents per mile..... Hotel accommodations..... Subsistence..... Telephone and telegrams..... Portage.....	96.53 21.00 24.95 36.63 6.46	185.57
	177	Clara Mason: 1930 Aug. 30. For stenographically reporting and furnishing transcript of hearings before the select committee in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows: 9,720 words, at 25 cents per 100 words.....		24.30
	178	Western Starr: For reimbursement of expenses incurred as investigator in Massachusetts in the investigation of campaign contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Nov. 4 to 10, inclusive, as follows— Hotel accommodations at Boston..... Subsistence..... Taxi fares and portage.....	17.50 15.40 8.95	41.85
17	180	J. L. Ward: For reimbursement of expenses incurred as investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Oct. 20 to Nov. 13, as follows— Transportation, including Pullman charges, Asheville to Charlotte and to other adjacent points in North Carolina and return, and to Washington, D. C..... Hotel accommodations..... Subsistence..... Telephone and telegrams..... Taxi fares and portage.....	89.90 74.00 61.45 13.55 16.28	254.98
	181	William M. Day: For stenographic services reporting and furnishing transcript of hearings before select committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows— 1930 Sept. 15-18, In Illinois— 73,360 words, at 25 cents per 100 words..... 366,800 words (5 copies of above) at 5 cents per 100 words..... Oct. 10. In Delaware— 39,610 words, at 25 cents per 100 words..... 198,050 words (5 copies) at 5 cents per 100 words..... Oct. 13-14. In North Carolina— 39,610 words, at 25 cents per 100 words..... 198,050 words (5 copies) at 5 cents per 100 words..... Oct. 15-16, 20. In Tennessee— 98,559 words, at 25 cents per 100 words..... 492,795 words (5 copies) at 5 cents per 100 words.....	183.40 183.40 99.02 99.02 99.02 99.02 246.39 246.39	1,255.66
18	182	Baltimore & Ohio R. R. Co.: For transportation furnished Senator Nye and Senator Dale, and assistants, including Pullman charges, in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows— 1930 Nov. 13. 3 tickets, Washington, D. C., to Denver, Colo., at \$65.00..... 2 tickets, Chicago to Denver, at \$37.28..... 1 drawing room, Washington, D. C., to Denver..... 1 lower berth, Washington, D. C., to Denver..... 1 compartment, Chicago to Denver.....	195.18 74.56 63.00 18.00 30.75	381.49
	183	Lloyd E. Bemis: For services as accountant, and for services of assistants, in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, during month of October, as follows— 1930 Oct. 1, 13, 21, 25, 30. Services of self, 5 days, at \$40 per day..... 6, 8, 17, 18, 23. Services of assistant, Andrew Sangster, 5 days, at \$25 per day..... Services of assistant, Roy N. Maxon, 3 days, at \$25.....	200.00 125.00 75.00	400.00

Date paid	No. of voucher	To whom paid and for what object	Amount	Total
<i>Fiscal year 1930—Continued</i>				
1930 Nov. 18	184	R. C. Callen: For services and expenses in connection with serving of subpoenas for the committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, on Sept. 18, Oct. 27, 28, and 29, and Nov. 4, 7, 8, 10, 12, and 13.		\$43.93
22	191	Western Starr: For reimbursement of expenses incurred as investigator in Massachusetts for the select committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Nov. 11 to 17, inclusive, as follows— 1930 Nov. 21. Hotel accommodations at Boston..... Subsistence..... Taxi fares and portage.....	\$17.50 16.10 9.20	42.80
	192	D. H. McArthur: For reimbursement of expenses incurred as special investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows from Oct. 26 to 30, inclusive— 1930 Nov. 22. Transportation, including Pullman charges, Washington, D. C., to New York and return..... Hotel accommodations at New York..... Subsistence..... Telephone service..... Taxi and bus fare and portage..... Extra clerk hire.....	44.34 30.00 29.50 3.60 21.10 15.00	143.54
30	208	P. L. Aarhus: For services as investigator rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Nov. 1 to 30, at \$500 per month.....		500.00
	209	John Andrews: For services as secretary rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 30, 1930, from Nov. 1 to 30, at \$500 per month.....		500.00
	210	W. Hunter Baldwin: For reimbursement of expenses incurred as investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Nov. 9 to 15, as follows— Transportation, including Pullman charges, from Chicago to Rockford, Ill., and return on Nov. 14..... Hotel accommodations at Chicago..... Subsistence..... Telephone and telegrams..... Taxi fares and portage.....	8.22 28.00 28.35 6.31 11.96	82.84
	211	F. H. Creech: For services as investigator rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Nov. 1 to 30, at \$500 per month.....		500.00
	212	Edw. M. Daniel: For reimbursement of expenses incurred as investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Nov. 9 to 15, as follows— Transportation, including Pullman charges, Chicago to Rockford, Ill., and return, Nov. 14..... Hotel accommodations at Chicago..... Subsistence..... Telephone and telegrams..... Taxi fares and portage..... Extra clerk hire.....	7.22 28.00 25.50 7.60 10.38 2.00	80.70
	213	J. E. Johnson: For services as assistant clerk rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Nov. 1 to 3, inclusive, at \$200 per month.....		200.00
	214	Ingham G. Mack: For services as investigator rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Nov. 1 to 30, at \$500 per month.....		500.00
	215	Russell M. McFarland: For reimbursement of expenses incurred as investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Nov. 3 to 14, as follows— Transportation via automobile, Washington, D. C., to Philadelphia and points adjacent in Pennsylvania and return, in all, 759 miles, at 7 cents..... Hotel accommodations..... Subsistence..... Telephone and telegrams..... Express and portage.....	53.13 26.00 28.75 4.60 10.76	123.24
	216	P. D. Norton: For services as investigator rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Nov. 1 to 30, at \$500 per month.....		500.00
	217	Howard M. Rice: For services as investigator rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Nov. 1 to 30, at \$500 per month.....		500.00
	218	Agnes M. Rydgen: For services as assistant clerk rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Nov. 1 to 30, at \$150 per month.....		150.00
	219	Gladys I. Simpson: For services as assistant clerk rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Nov. 1 to 30, at \$150 per month.....		150.00
	220	Western Starr: For services as investigator rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Nov. 1 to 30, at \$500 per month.....		500.00
	224	Southern Railway Co.: For railroad and Pullman transportation furnished the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, for committee investigator— 1 railroad ticket, Washington, D. C., to Birmingham, Ala..... 1 lower berth, Washington, D. C. to Birmingham, Ala.....	27.42 8.63	36.05
Dec. 3	227	P. L. Aarhus: For reimbursement of expenses incurred as investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Nov. 16 to 22, as follows— 1930 Dec. 2. Transportation, including Pullman charges— Denver, Colo., to Fargo, N. Dak..... Fargo, N. Dak., to Birmingham, Ala..... Subsistence..... Telephone and telegrams..... Taxi fares and portage.....	\$54.00 61.59 115.59 14.30 4.66 4.15	138.70
	228	W. Hunter Baldwin: For reimbursement of expenses incurred as investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Nov. 16 to 21, as follows— 1930 Dec. 2. Hotel accommodations at Chicago..... Subsistence..... Telephone and telegrams..... Taxi fares and portage.....	16.00 24.45 1.30 16.73	58.48

Date paid	No. of voucher	To whom paid and for what object	Amount	Total
<i>Fiscal year 1930—Continued</i>				
1530 Dec. 3	229	Edw. M. Daniel: For reimbursement of expenses incurred as investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Nov. 16 to 21, as follows— 1930 Dec. 2. Hotel accommodations at Chicago..... Subsistence..... Telephone and telegrams..... Taxi fares and portage.....	\$16.00 18.85 5.50 17.83	\$58.18
	230	Russell M. McFarland: For reimbursement of expenses incurred as investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Nov. 19 to 24, as follows— 1930 Dec. 2. Transportation via automobile from Philadelphia to Washington, D. C., and return, in all 280 miles, at 7 cents per mile... Hotel accommodations at Philadelphia..... Subsistence..... Telephone and telegrams..... Portage.....	19.60 20.00 13.75 3.80 2.91	
	231	Western Starr: For reimbursement of expenses incurred as investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Nov. 18 to 24, as follows— 1930 Dec. 2. Transportation, including Pullman charges, from Boston to Washington, D. C..... Hotel accommodations at Boston..... Subsistence..... Taxi fares and portage.....	22.93 7.50 9.10 5.70	60.06
	236	Frank Healy: For reimbursement of expenses incurred as investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Nov. 2 to 27, as follows— 1930 Dec. 3. Transportation, including Pullman charges— Lincoln to Omaha and return..... Grand Island to Greely Center and Omaha to Broken Bow, to Lincoln and return..... Lincoln to Grand Island and return..... Lincoln to Omaha..... Omaha to Washington, D. C..... Hotel accommodations..... Subsistence..... Telephone, telegrams, air mail, and registry..... Taxi fares and portage..... Typewriter rental and stationery.....	\$4.50 31.84 8.44 2.73 62.04 75.50 122.20 24.52 38.85 5.75	45.23
5	237	Donald O. Nye: For reimbursement of expenses incurred by members of the committee and their assistants in connection with the investigation of campaign contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows— Paid to P. L. Aarhus, investigator, for expenses incurred in period Nov. 2 to 15— Adjustment on mileage charges in Colorado on which payment of 3 cents per mile was made, 1,677 miles in all, at 2 cents per mile..... Mileage from Denver to Longmont and other adjacent points in Colorado and return, 290 miles, at 7 cents per mile..... Hotel accommodations..... Subsistence..... Telephone and telegrams..... Portage..... Extra clerk hire, stationery, and registry..... Paid to W. Hunter Baldwin, investigator, for services during month of November, at \$500 per month..... Paid to Charles C. Barnard, investigator, for services during month of November, at \$350 per month..... Paid to Charles C. Barnard, investigator, reimbursement of expenses incurred from Nov. 4 to 17— Transportation, including Pullman charges, from Memphis to Chicago and return..... Hotel accommodations..... Subsistence..... Telephone and telegrams..... Taxi fares and portage..... Extra clerk hire and auto hire..... Paid to F. H. Creech, investigator, reimbursement of expenses incurred from Oct. 28 to Nov. 21— Transportation, including Pullman charges— Omaha to Lincoln and to other adjacent points in Nebraska and return..... Omaha to Chicago and return..... Washington, D. C., to Birmingham, Ala..... Hotel accommodations..... Subsistence..... Telephone and telegrams..... Taxi fares and portage..... Paid to Edw. M. Daniel, investigator, for services during month of November, at \$500 per month..... Paid to Frank E. Healy, investigator, for services during month of November, at \$500 per month..... Paid to H. J. Loose, special investigator, reimbursement of expenses incurred during month of October..... Paid to Russell M. McFarland, investigator, for services during month of November, at \$500 per month..... Paid to P. D. Norton, investigator, reimbursement of expenses incurred from Nov. 2 to 15— Transportation, including Pullman charges, from Missoula to Butte and other adjacent points in Montana and return—to Denver, Colo., and return to Minot, N. Dak..... Hotel accommodations..... Subsistence..... Telephone and telegrams..... Taxi fares and portage..... Extra clerk hire..... Paid to Senator Nye, chairman, reimbursement of expenses incurred from Oct. 12 to Nov. 7— Transportation, including Pullman charges from Cooperstown, N. Dak., to Washington, D. C..... Subsistence, taxi fares, and portage..... Paid to Howard M. Rice, investigator, reimbursement in hire of special expert assistants in Delaware— Raymond J. Weaverling, Oct. 16 to Nov. 5, 3 weeks, at \$50 per week..... E. H. Wells, Nov. 3 to 5, 3 days, at \$10 per day..... Harry J. Fye, John M. Barton, Hamilton B. Beacom, Lloyd Collison, and C. A. Miller, on Nov. 4, 1 day each, at \$10 per day.....	\$33.54 20.30 16.00 29.00 13.11 13.07 58.00 500.00 350.00 50.82 48.00 43.10 9.62 20.06 2.85 81.03 59.30 34.92 55.50 111.70 7.61 40.41 158.49 36.50 36.90 6.37 11.60 3.00 89.30 163.95 150.00 30.00 50.00	183.02 500.00 350.00 174.45 390.47 500.00 500.00 6.36 500.00 252.86 253.25 230.00

Date paid	No. of voucher	To whom paid and for what object	Amount	Total
1930 Dec. 5	237	<i>Fiscal year 1930—Continued</i> Donald O. Nye—Continued. For reimbursement of expenses incurred by members of the committee and their assistants in connection with the investigation of campaign contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows—Contd. Paid to Howard M. Rice, investigator, reimbursement of expenses incurred from Oct. 31 to Nov. 21— Transportation, including Pullman charges, from Washington, D. C., to New York and thence to points in Delaware and New Jersey..... \$42.61 Mileage, via automobile, from Washington, D. C., to Wilmington and other adjacent points in Delaware and Pennsylvania and return, 628 miles in all, at 7 cents per mile..... 43.96 Hotel accommodations..... 51.50 Subsistence..... 47.55 Telephone and telegrams..... 5.90 Taxi fares and portage..... 8.85 Paid to J. L. Ward, investigator, for services during month of November, at \$500 per month..... 500.00 Paid to Brown Palace Hotel, Denver, for accommodations for Senators Nye and Dale and their assistants, Nov. 12 to 15..... 152.42 Paid to Cornhusker Hotel, Lincoln, for accommodations for Senators Nye and Dale and their assistants, Nov. 6 to 19..... 186.24 Paid to Senator Nye, chairman, for reimbursement in special extra clerk hire in clipping service..... 151.63 Paid to Senate post office for registry of 35 letters to North Carolina..... 6.30 Paid to John B. McArthur, special investigator, for reimbursement of expenses incurred from Nov. 3 to 11— Transportation, including Pullman charges, from Washington, D. C., to Charleston and other adjacent points in West Virginia and return..... \$61.22 Hotel accommodations..... 21.00 Subsistence..... 15.30 Telephone and telegrams..... 17.75 Taxi fares and portage..... 7.15 Paid for reimbursement of expenses of self and assistants of committee, incurred during month of November— Pullman charges from Glendive, Mont., to Washington, D. C..... 54.00 Subsistence, Nov. 22 to 30..... 93.00 Taxi fares and portage..... 12.30 Air mail stamps and registry..... 8.31 Paid to Brown Palace ticket office for transportation for Senators Nye and Dale and their assistants from Denver, Colo., to Lincoln, Nebr., on Nov. 15..... 167.61 Paid to Chicago, Burlington & Quincy R. R. Co., for transportation, including Pullman charges, for Senators Nye and Dale and their assistants, from Lincoln to Chicago, on Nov. 19..... 142.80 Paid to Senator Nye, chairman, reimbursement of payment for transportation, including Pullman charges, for himself and Senator Dale and their assistants, from Chicago to Memphis, to St. Paul and to Washington, D. C..... 159.96 Paid to Geo. E. Brimmer of Cheyenne, Wyo.; W. R. Weekes, Bertha V. Perry, L. D. Mowry, W. S. Lail, Max Schradsky, Cecil R. Conner, Archie B. Clow, T. J. Morrissey, Dr. J. H. P. Westbrook, Forrest C. Northcutt, T. T. Daffer, W. A. Carpenter, August Schonewels, Otto Halkowicz, L. B. Brommelt, J. L. Berman, C. D. Bromley, Frank L. Dodge, Bert Warfel, Carl S. Milliken, N. F. Handy, Frank J. Wolf, Earl Yates, John Gross, and J. O. Stevio, all of Denver; L. E. Anderson, of Brush; A. W. Hahn, of Fort Collins; Thos. A. Nixon and H. D. Waldo, Jr., of Greeley; J. Paul Hill, of Brighton; Rae H. Kiteley, of Longmont; Harry T. Pinnock, of Manzanera; and Allyn Cole, of Lamar, for witness fees and expenses incurred in attending hearings in Colorado (paid on Nov. 14)..... 271.45 Paid to E. E. Binfield, of Presser; C. E. Beals, of Crete; W. F. Adams, of Hastings; C. A. McCloud, of York; T. D. Major, of Kearney; Bernard McNeny, of Red Cloud; Hugh Drak, Minor S. Bacon, A. B. Nebelsick, J. W. Kelso, Morris Freshman, Richard Wood, Edwin R. Mockett, and Barton Green, all of Lincoln; and J. J. Isaacson, B. J. Boyle, M. E. Jacobs, and Wm. L. Randall, all of Omaha, for witness fees and expenses incurred in attending the hearings in Nebraska from Nov. 17 to 19..... 238.86 238 Baltimore & Ohio R. R. Co.: For transportation furnished assistants to the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows— 1930 Nov. 22, 2 round-trip railroad tickets from Washington, D. C., to Glendive, Mont., and return, at \$131.46 each..... 156.79 1 compartment from Washington, D. C., to Glendive, Mont..... 54.00 239 Charles C. Barnard: For reimbursement of expenses incurred as investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Nov. 18 to Dec. 4, as follows— Transportation, including Pullman charges, from Memphis, Tenn., to Washington, D. C..... 47.20 Hotel accommodations..... 52.00 Subsistence..... 48.05 Telephone and telegrams..... 8.84 Taxi fares and portage..... 21.80 Typewriter rental and stationery..... 2.30 Photostating poll books..... 16.00 Services of G. T. Hume and O. McKinley Parker, special expert investigators, and notary fees..... 43.50 9 240 P. L. Aarhus: For reimbursement of expenses incurred as investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Nov. 23 to 29, as follows— Hotel accommodations..... 19.75 Subsistence..... 16.30 Telephone and telegrams..... 1.45 Taxi fares and portage..... 10.20 241 F. H. Creech: For reimbursement of expenses incurred as investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Nov. 24 to Dec. 1, as follows: Hotel accommodations at Birmingham, Ala..... 21.00 Subsistence..... 33.20 Telephone and telegrams..... 1.22 Taxi fares and portage..... 13.40 Typewriter rental and for periodicals..... 3.62 243 P. D. Norton: For reimbursement of expenses incurred as investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Nov. 16 to 22, as follows: Subsistence..... 20.10 Taxi fares and portage..... 3.25 244 Pennsylvania Railroad Co.: For transportation, including Pullman charges, furnished Senator Nye and Senator Dale and their assistants, from Washington, D. C., to New York City, in the investigation of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows: 1930 Dec. 2, 4 tickets Washington to New York..... 32.56 4 parlor-car seats..... 7.52	\$200.37 500.00 152.42 186.24 151.63 6.30 \$61.22 21.00 15.30 17.75 7.15 54.00 93.00 12.30 8.31 167.61 142.80 159.96 271.45 238.86 156.79 54.00 47.20 52.00 48.05 8.84 21.80 2.30 16.00 43.50 19.75 16.30 1.45 10.20 21.00 33.20 1.22 13.40 3.62 20.10 3.25 32.56 7.52	

Date paid	No. of voucher	To whom paid and for what object	Amount	Total
1930 Dec. 12		<i>Fiscal year 1930—Continued</i>		
	248	J. L. Ward: For reimbursement of expenses incurred as investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, in hire of special expert assistants in North Carolina, as follows— 1930 Oct. 11-14. W. F. Evans, 4 days, at \$5 per day..... \$20.00 Subsistence..... 7.25 J. B. Duval, 4 days, at \$5 per day..... 20.00 Subsistence..... 10.05 W. M. Tye (copying poll lists)..... 30.05 22.00	\$27.25 30.05 22.00	\$79.30
	249	P. L. Aarhus: For reimbursement of expenses incurred as investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Nov. 30 to Dec. 6, as follows: Transportation, including Pullman charges, from Birmingham to Montgomery and to other adjacent points in Alabama and return..... 33.13 Hotel accommodations..... 21.00 Subsistence..... 17.70 Telephone and telegrams..... 8.20 Taxi fares and portage..... 4.50 Extra clerk hire and typewriter rental..... 7.00	33.13 21.00 17.70 8.20 4.50 7.00	91.53
	250	Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co.: For long-distance telephone service rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from July 29 to Sept. 2.....		62.95
	251	F. H. Creech: For reimbursement of expenses incurred as investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Dec. 2 to Dec. 8, as follows: Transportation from Birmingham to Montgomery, Ala., and return..... 7.04 Hotel accommodations..... 25.50 Subsistence..... 42.15 Telephone and telegrams..... 6.49 Taxi fares and portage..... 10.78 Extra clerk hire and stationery and photostating..... 18.25	7.04 25.50 42.15 6.49 10.78 18.25	110.21
	252	P. D. Norton: For reimbursement of expenses incurred as investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Nov. 30 to Dec. 6, as follows— Transportation, including Pullman charges, from Minot, N. Dak., to Shelby, Mont., and to Great Falls, Mont., and to Helena, Mont..... 32.78 Hotel accommodations at Great Falls, Mont..... 15.00 Subsistence..... 19.50 Telephone and telegrams..... 4.75 Taxi fares and portage..... 3.60	32.78 15.00 19.50 4.75 3.60	75.63
	253	Lydia D. Rabe: For reimbursement of expenses incurred as special assistant for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Oct. 21 to Dec. 4, as follows— Transportation, including Pullman charges, from Dickinson, N. Dak., to Washington, D. C..... 80.28 Subsistence..... 7.70 Taxi fares and portage..... 2.60	80.28 7.70 2.60	90.58
	254	Howard M. Rice: For reimbursement of expenses incurred as investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Nov. 25 to Nov. 29 and from Dec. 1 to Dec. 6, as follows— Transportation, including Pullman charges— Washington, D. C., to New York and return..... \$41.80 Washington, D. C., to Philadelphia and return..... 9.80 Hotel accommodations..... 51.60 Subsistence..... 28.00 Telephone and telegrams..... 24.25 Taxi fares and portage..... 1.10 8.15	41.80 9.80 51.60 28.00 24.25 1.10 8.15	113.10
	255	E. A. Van Doren: For services and for reimbursement of expenses incurred as special assistant to the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows— 1930 Nov. 6, 7, 10 to 14, 17 to 19. Services, 10 days, at \$6 per day..... 60.00 Mileage via automobile from Lincoln to Scotts Bluff and to other adjacent points in Nebraska and return, 2,251 miles in all, at 7 cents per mile..... 157.57 Hotel accommodations (3 days)..... 22.00 Subsistence..... 24.70 Telephone and telegrams and toll-bridge charges..... 5.55 Nov. 6, 7. Extra clerk hire (driver for automobile)..... 10.00	60.00 157.57 22.00 24.70 5.55 10.00	279.82
	257	Donald O. Nye: For reimbursement of expenses incurred by members of the committee and their assistants in connection with the investigation of campaign contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows— Paid to John Andrews, secretary, for expenses incurred during period Nov. 10 to Dec. 5— Transportation, including Pullman charges, from St. Paul to Washington, D. C..... \$54.05 Subsistence, including Senators Nye, Dale, and Dill and their assistants..... 189.65 Telephone and telegrams..... 1.57 Taxi fares and portage, including Senators Dale, Nye, and Dill and their assistants..... 75.05 Extra clerk hire..... 15.00 Paid to Senator Porter H. Dale for expenses incurred during October and November..... 335.32 Paid to H. J. Loose, special investigator, for services and expenses during the month of November— Services at \$500 per month..... 500.00 Expenses in telephone service and notary fees..... 5.05 Paid to Palmer House, Chicago, for hotel accommodations for Senators Nye and Dale and their assistants on Nov. 20..... 505.05 Paid to Murray Hill Hotel, New York, for accommodations for Senators Nye, Dale, and Dill and their assistants on Dec. 4, as follows— Transportation, New York to Washington..... \$108.12 Rooms..... 33.00 Subsistence..... 19.60 Telephone and telegrams..... 4.00 Paid to Baltimore Sun for subscription for a period of 6 months, beginning Dec. 10..... 164.72 Paid to New York World for subscription for a period of 6 months, beginning Dec. 10..... 5.60 Paid to Palmer House, Chicago, on telephone service charges incurred on Nov. 20..... 5.10 Paid to Pennsylvania R. R. Co. for transportation, including Pullman charges, from Washington, D. C., to New York on Nov. 3..... 90.00 10.02	54.05 189.65 1.57 75.05 15.00 335.32 500.00 5.05 505.05 25.96 108.12 33.00 19.60 4.00 164.72 5.60 5.10 90.00 10.02	

Date paid	No. of voucher	To whom paid and for what object	Amount	Total
<i>Fiscal year 1930—Continued</i>				
1930 Dec. 12	257	Donald O. Nye—Continued. For reimbursement of expenses incurred by members of the committee and their assistants in connection with the investigation of campaign contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows—Con. Paid to Walter Walker, of Grand Junction, Colo., for witness fees and expenses incurred in attending hearing in Denver Nov. 13 to 15, inclusive— Transportation, including Pullman charges, from Grand Junction to Denver and return..... \$38.70 Witness fees, 3 days, at \$3 per day..... 9.00 Paid to R. C. Van Kirk, of Lincoln, and J. B. Haynes, of Omaha, for witness fees and expenses in attending hearings in Nebraska..... 13.91 Paid to Charles T. Knapp, of 134 South La Salle Street, Chicago, for telephone services charges incurred as witness in Nebraska hearings..... 4.50	\$47.70 13.91 4.50	\$1,223.78
	258	P. D. Norton: For reimbursement of expenses incurred as investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Dec. 7 to 13, as follows— Transportation, including Pullman charges, from Helena, Mont., to Washington, D. C..... 107.05 Hotel accommodations at Helena..... 6.00 Subsistence..... 15.65 Telephone and telegrams..... 1.90 Taxi fares and portage..... 3.20	107.05 6.00 15.65 1.90 3.20	133.86
18	261	P. L. Aarhus: For reimbursement of expenses incurred as investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Dec. 7 to 13, as follows— Hotel accommodations at Birmingham, Ala..... 22.50 Subsistence..... 20.55 Telephone and telegrams..... 4.18 Taxi fares and portage..... 3.63 Automobile hire (4 days), including toll-bridge charges..... 67.87 Extra clerk hire..... 15.00	22.50 20.55 4.18 3.63 67.87 15.00	133.73
20	282	P. L. Aarhus: For services as investigator rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Dec. 1 to 31, at \$500 per month..... 500.00 Less advance paid by check..... 300.00	500.00 300.00	200.00
	283	John Andrews: For services as secretary rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Dec. 1 to 31, inclusive, at \$500 per month..... 500.00		500.00
	284	W. Hunter Baldwin: For services as investigator rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Dec. 1 to 31, inclusive, at \$500 per month..... 500.00		500.00
	285	W. Hunter Baldwin: For reimbursement of expenses incurred as investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Dec. 6 to 15, as follows— Transportation, including Pullman charges, from Washington, D. C., to Scranton, and to other adjacent points in Pennsylvania and return..... 32.13 Hotel accommodations..... 35.00 Subsistence..... 42.15 Telephone and telegrams..... 11.00 Taxi fares and portage..... 20.45 Automobile hire..... 3.50	32.13 35.00 42.15 11.00 20.45 3.50	144.23
	286	Charles C. Barnard: For services as investigator rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Dec. 1 to 31, at \$350 per month..... 350.00		350.00
	287	F. H. Creech: For services as investigator rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Dec. 1 to 31, at \$500 per month..... 500.00 Less advance paid by check..... 400.00	500.00 400.00	100.00
	288	Edw. M. Daniel: For services as investigator rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Dec. 1 to 31, at \$500 per month..... 500.00		500.00
	289	Edw. M. Daniel: For reimbursement of expenses incurred as investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Dec. 6 to 15, as follows— Transportation, including Pullman charges, from Washington, D. C., to Scranton and to other adjacent points in Pennsylvania, and return..... 29.85 Hotel accommodations..... 34.50 Subsistence..... 32.40 Telephone and telegrams..... 11.00 Taxi fares and portage..... 17.91 Automobile hire..... 3.50	29.85 34.50 32.40 11.00 17.91 3.50	129.16
	290	William M. Day: For stenographic services reporting and furnishing transcript of hearings before special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, Nov. 13 and 14, and Dec. 2, 3, and 4, as follows— 144,755 words, at 25 cents per 100..... 361.88 723,775 words, at 5 cents per 100 (5 copies above)..... 361.88	361.88 361.88	723.76
	291	Frank Healy: For services as investigator rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Dec. 1 to 31, at \$500 per month..... 500.00		500.00
	292	J. E. Johnson: For services as assistant clerk rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Dec. 1 to 31, at \$300 per month..... 300.00 Less advance paid by check..... 25.00	300.00 25.00	275.00
	293	H. J. Loose: For services as special investigator rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Dec. 1 to 31, at \$500 per month..... 500.00		500.00
	294	Russell M. McFarland: For services as investigator rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Dec. 1 to 31, at \$500 per month..... 500.00		500.00
	295	Ingham G. Mack: For services as investigator rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Dec. 1 to 31, at \$500 per month..... 500.00		500.00
	296	P. D. Norton: For services as investigator rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Dec. 1 to 31, at \$500 per month..... 500.00 Less advance paid by check..... 150.00	500.00 150.00	350.00
	297	Howard M. Rice: For services as investigator rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Dec. 1 to 31, at \$500 per month..... 500.00		500.00

Date paid	No. of voucher	To whom paid and for what object	Amount	Total
<i>Fiscal year 1930—Continued</i>				
1390 Dec. 20	298	Agnes M. Rydgren: For services as assistant clerk rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Dec. 1 to 31, at \$150 per month.....		\$150.00
	299	Gladys I. Simpson: For services as assistant clerk rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Dec. 1 to 31, at \$150 per month.....		150.00
	300	J. L. Ward: For services as investigator rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Dec. 1 to 31, at \$500 per month.....		500.00
	301	Western Starr: For services as investigator rendered the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Dec. 1 to 31, at \$500 per month.....		500.00
23	303	D. H. Cronin: For services and expenses in connection with serving of subpoenas for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Nov. 13 to Nov. 18.....		22.90
24	306	F. H. Creech: For reimbursement of expenses incurred as investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Dec. 9-16, as follows— Transportation, including Pullman charges, from Birmingham to Montgomery to Mobile and to Washington D. C..... Hotel accommodations..... Subsistence..... Telephone and telegrams..... Taxi fares and portage..... Typewriter rental..... Extra clerk hire..... Automobile hire, paid to A. W. Kinney for hire of car for 3 days in trip from Birmingham to Hamilton and intervening and adjacent points in Alabama and return, in all, 476 miles, at 7 cents per mile.....	\$52.78 16.50 35.30 5.55 11.97 3.75 7.00 33.32	166.17
31	322	William Madgett: 1930 Nov. 17. For attendance as a witness before the select committee on campaign expenditures, under resolution of Apr. 8, 1930. Necessary traveling expenses from Hastings to Lincoln, Nebr., and return.....	3.00 6.91	9.91
	323	Donald O. Nye: For reimbursement of expenses incurred by members of the committee and their assistants in connection with the investigations of contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, as follows— Paid to P. L. Aarhus, investigator, for services during month of December at \$500 per month..... Less voucher paid on Dec. 20..... Paid to P. L. Aarhus, investigator, for expenses incurred during period from Dec. 14 to 27, as follows— Transportation, including Pullman charges, from Birmingham, Ala., to Washington, D. C., and return..... Hotel accommodations..... Subsistence..... Telephone and telegrams..... Taxi fares and portage..... Extra clerk hire..... Automobile hire and expense of driver..... Paid to Henry H. Barker, special investigator, for services during month of November..... Paid to F. H. Creech, investigator, for services during month of December, at \$500 per month..... Less voucher paid on Dec. 20..... Paid to James R. Hill, special investigator, for services from Oct. 6 to Dec. 20, at \$500 per month..... Paid to J. E. Johnson, assistant clerk for services during month of December, at \$300 per month..... Less voucher paid on Dec. 20..... Paid to P. D. Norton, investigator, for services during month of December, at \$500 per month..... Less voucher paid on Dec. 20..... Paid to P. D. Norton, investigator, for expenses incurred during period from Dec. 14-27, as follows— Transportation, including Pullman charges, none..... Hotel accommodations..... Subsistence..... Taxi fares and portage..... Extra clerk hire..... Paid to Bernard D. Reed, special investigator, for services from Oct. 6 to Dec. 20, at \$300 per month..... Paid to W. W. White, of Memphis, Tenn., for witness fees in attendances at hearings held in Tennessee on Nov. 21..... Paid to Senator Gerald P. Nye, chairman, for reimbursement of expenses incurred by self, Senator Dale, and Senator Dill and their assistants from Nov. 10, to Dec. 22, in Illinois, Colorado, Nebraska, Tennessee, and New York, as follows— Subsistence..... Telephone and telegrams..... Taxi fares and portage..... Special expert assistant..... Paid to Forum Publishing Co., Fargo, for periodicals..... Paid to Peabody Hotel, Memphis, for accommodations for Senators Nye and Dale and their assistants on Nov. 20 and 21..... Paid to Peabody ticket office, Memphis, for transportation for Senators Nye and Dale, and their assistants from Memphis to Washington, D. C.....	\$500 200 72.10 33.00 40.60 4.20 10.90 20.50 13.92 195.22 350.00 500 100 400.00 1,250.00 300 275 500 350 150.00 24.00 43.35 10.96 10.00 88.31 750.00 3.00 112.20 249.55 61.75 55.00 378.50 7.00 56.35 305.80	4,259.18
1931 Jan. 6	324	D. F. Batts: 1930 Oct. 13. For attendance as a witness before the special committee on senatorial campaign expenditures, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930..... Necessary traveling expenses from Tarboro to Raleigh, N. C., and return.....	3.00 7.06	10.06
	325	Capitol News Co.: 1930 For periodicals delivered to the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Nov. 1 to Dec. 6, inclusive.....		10.00
	327	Mamie Johnson: 1930 Nov. 16-17. For attendance as a witness before the special committee on senatorial campaign expenditures, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, 2 days, at \$3..... Necessary traveling expenses from Broken Bow to Lincoln, Nebr., and return.....	6.00 18.72	24.72
	328	Warren C. Jefferds, keeper of stationery: 1930 For stationery and supplies furnished to special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from July 23 to Dec. 18.....		95.63

Date paid	No. of voucher	To whom paid and for what object	Amount	Total
<i>Fiscal year 1930—Continued</i>				
1931 Jan. 6	330	Porter H. Dale: 1930 For reimbursement of expenses incurred in attendance at hearings held by special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Aug. 14 to Nov. 23, as follows— Transportation, including Pullman charges— Washington, D. C., to Glacier Park, Mont., and return to Island Pond, Vt. \$408.24 Island Pond, Vt., to Chicago (2 trips, Sept. 18 and Nov. 10) 201.56 Chicago to Island Pond, Vt., via Battle Creek and Washington, D. C. 148.24 \$758.04 Hotel accommodations at Chicago 22.00 Subsistence en route and at Chicago and Lincoln 72.70 Telephone service at Chicago30 Taxi fares and portage 32.85 \$885.89 Less voucher paid on Sept. 19 420.00 465.89 Less voucher paid on Dec. 13 105.00 \$360.89		
8	331	P. L. Aarhus: 1930-31 For reimbursement of expenses incurred as investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Dec. 28 to Jan. 3, inclusive, as follows— Subsistence 15.20 Telephone and telegrams 3.33 Taxi fares and portage 3.65 Special clerk hire and mimeographing service 33.25 Special delivery and registry charges 41.14 Stationery and supplies 8.15		104.72
	332	P. D. Norton: 1930-31 For reimbursement of expenses incurred as investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Dec. 28, 1930, to Jan. 3, 1931, inclusive, as follows: Hotel accommodations 24.00 Subsistence 19.70 Taxi fares and portage 6.06 Extra clerk hire 15.00		64.76
12	337	Molton Hotel: 1930-31 For accommodations and service rendered P. L. Aarhus, an investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Dec. 27, 1930, to Jan. 3, 1931, as follows— Hotel room 21.00 Subsistence 8.70 Telephone service 1.30 Portage 4.45		35.45
16	345	P. L. Aarhus: 1931 For reimbursement of expenses incurred as investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Jan. 4 to 10, inclusive, as follows— Transportation, including Pullman charges, from Birmingham to Montgomery and return 7.06 Hotel accommodations at Montgomery 3.00 Subsistence 20.90 Telephone and telegrams 1.83 Taxi fares and portage 5.25 Special clerk hire and typewriter rental 7.50 Air-mail stamps and registry and photostating 4.08		49.62
	346	J. Matt Chilton: 1931 Jan. 13. For attendance as a witness before the special committee on senatorial campaign expenditures, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930. Necessary traveling expenses from Louisville, Ky., to Washington, D. C., and return 3.00 62.44		65.44
	347	William M. Day: 1930 For stenographically reporting and furnishing transcripts of hearings before Select Committee on Senatorial Campaign Expenditures, under authority of Senate Resolution No. 215, of Apr. 10, 1930— Nov. 17 and 18, 297,656 words, at 25 cents per 100 744.14 Nov. 19, 20, 21, Dec. 4, 19, 20, and 22, 1,488,280 words, at 5 cents per 100, being 5 additional copies of item above 744.14		1,488.28
	348	Molton Hotel: 1931 For hotel accommodations and service rendered P. L. Aarhus, an investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Jan. 3 to 10, inclusive, as follows— Room 21.00 Subsistence 2.25 Portage (including statement for photostat service paid by hotel) 6.14 Telephone service 3.00		32.39
	349	Montgomery Map & Blue Print Co.: 1931 Jan. 15. For photostat service rendered P. L. Aarhus, an investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, 129 photostats, at 20 cents each 25.80		
	350	P. D. Norton: 1931 For reimbursement of expenses incurred as investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Jan. 4 to 10, inclusive, as follows— Hotel accommodations 14.00 Subsistence 20.40 Telephone service 1.60 Taxi fares and portage 3.00		39.00
20	356	Russell M. McFarland: 1931 For reimbursement of expenses incurred as investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Jan. 8 to 10, as follows— Transportation, including Pullman charges, from Washington, D. C., to Pittsburgh, Pa., and to adjacent points in Pennsylvania and return 29.93 Hotel accommodations at Altoona, Pa. 3.00 Subsistence 7.20 Telephone and telegrams 1.85 Taxi fares and portage 4.15		46.13

Date paid	No of voucher	To whom paid and for what object	Amount	Total
<i>Fiscal year 1930—Continued</i>				
1931 Jan. 20	357	S. L. McFetridge: 1931 Jan. 15-16. For attendance as a witness before the special committee on senatorial campaign expenditures, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, two days, at \$3. Necessary traveling expenses from Philadelphia, Pa., to Washington, D. C., and return.	\$6.00 19.60	\$25.60
	358	Robert C. Miner: 1931 Jan. 15-16. For attendance as a witness before the special committee on senatorial campaign expenditures, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, two days, at \$3. Necessary traveling expenses from Wilkes-Barre, Pa., to Washington, D. C., and return.	6.00 33.74	
	330	David J. Reedy: 1931 Jan. 15-16. For attendance as a witness before the special committee on senatorial campaign expenditures, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, two days, at \$3. Necessary traveling expenses from Scranton, Pa., to Washington, D. C., and return.	6.00 36.26	\$42.26
	362	Vincent R. Smith: 1931 Jan. 15-17. For attendance as a witness before the special committee on senatorial campaign expenditures, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, 3 days, at \$3 per day. Necessary traveling expenses from Greensburg, Pa., to Washington, D. C., and return.	9.00 43.62	
21	363	P. L. Aarhus 1931 For reimbursement of expenses incurred as investigator for the special committee investigating contributions and expenditures of senatorial candidates, under resolution of Apr. 10, 1930, from Jan. 11 to 17, as follows: Transportation, including Pullman charges, from Birmingham to Montgomery, Ala., and return. Hotel accommodations at Montgomery. Subsistence. Telephone and telegrams. Taxi fares and portage. Special clerk hire and stationery.	26.31 3.00 21.75 7.76 6.40 15.71	\$80.93
		Total.		
		Less amounts refunded by Senator Nye Nov. 5 and Dec. 11, 1930, to rectify erroneous charges for hotel bill and witness fees.		\$97,004.14
		Total.		\$96,803.12

Mr. HEFLIN. Now, Mr. President, I submit to the Senate that another interesting phase of this matter has arisen. The Senator from New Hampshire is on the committee. So here is a judge about to foist himself upon the bench to try the case of a man whose interests are involved; the gentleman interested does not want the judge to try his case, but the Senator is insisting that he be made the judge and given entire jurisdiction over the case. I have stated that I did not believe the Senator was friendly to me in this matter or that the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. CARAWAY] was. I have got the impression that neither one of them is going to be enthused about helping me get at the facts involved in the election in Alabama.

Mr. MOSES. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. HEFLIN. Now the Senator gets up and insists on stopping the procedure that I am working for, a procedure that will be quick and less expensive, and turn the work over to his committee. When I am doing all I can to get my case in proper shape before I turn it over to the committee, the Senator wants to stop me and compel me to lay everything before him and his committee before I am ready to proceed in that way with my case.

Mr. MOSES. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. HEFLIN. I want this committee that, through its agent, has already been in my State and has already found that ballot boxes have been opened and that fraud and corruption were practiced, and all that—I want them to complete this particular work. They have been there for six weeks; why should we throw them off the trail now? That was not done in the case of Illinois; it was not done in the case of Pennsylvania. Why pull them out of Alabama? Why not let us go on and get these ballot boxes, as I suggest? Why is the Senator opposed to this particular committee going and getting these boxes and turning them over to his committee?

Mr. MOSES. Mr. President, does the Senator wish me to answer that question now?

Mr. HEFLIN. Sure the Senator can understand English.

Mr. MOSES. The Senator from Alabama must take his case before the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

Mr. HEFLIN. Of course.

Mr. MOSES. He knows that perfectly.

Mr. HEFLIN. Certainly; at the proper time.

Mr. MOSES. I do not want any divided authority, as developed in the case of the Pennsylvania contest, and I prefer that these matters proceed in orderly fashion, with a regular standing committee of the Senate, which has jurisdiction of the subject matter. If the Senator thinks that he is not going to get justice from that committee, he is very much mistaken; and, as he has spoken so frankly heretofore, may I say that, in my opinion, justice is not what the Senator is seeking?

Mr. HEFLIN. That gratuitous statement disqualifies the Senator as a judge, and I should object to his sitting on that committee.

Mr. MOSES. The Senator may take his objection to the committee on committees of the Seventy-second Congress.

Mr. HEFLIN. I am objecting now to having the Senator consider my case, and I state in the open Senate that somehow I do not believe he would give me a fair deal. I fear that certain influences that opposed my election in Alabama will influence the Senator to my hurt and injury.

Mr. MOSES. Mr. President, did the Chair ever hear of Rule XIX?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will be in order.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, there is a place, and that place is Alabama, where I can go and discuss this matter fully and freely; there is a forum that has never failed me. I wish the Senate could have been in my State from the time I opened my campaign in July until the 4th of November. Senators would not have had any trouble then deciding where the hearts of Alabama Democrats were in that campaign. You would have seen that the Democratic masses were for me, while the machine politicians were for Bankhead.

Mr. President, I have stood here on two other occasions and told the Senate that the election was stolen from me; and here certain Senators have an opportunity to prove my statements true or untrue, and they will not avail themselves of it.

My colleague could settle this question in a minute. Since this matter is mainly an Alabama matter, if my colleague

would rise and ask these two or three Senators to withdraw their objection, I believe they would do it. In the interest of fairness to his colleague, in the interest of fairness to the Democrats of Alabama who voted for me, and the Republicans, too—they were divided, some of them voted for Bankhead and some for me—in the interest of all the voters in Alabama, in the interest of clean and fair elections, I ask him to aid me in passing this resolution that we may get these ballots and let them tell their own story and disclose whatever they will disclose. There is nothing wrong or unfair in my request. I appeal to my colleague to do that. [A pause.]

Well, Mr. President, he refuses to do that, and I do not suppose that there is anything more that I can do to-day, since one objection would prevent action upon it. I do not know how the fair-minded men and women who sit in these galleries feel about this thing, but I am going to give to the Senate and to them my interpretation of it. The influences that are operating here to keep me from seizing these ballots are the influences that helped to finance the campaign in opposition to me in Alabama. The influences that helped to bring about the fraud and corruption practiced against me in Alabama are back of the movement to prevent me from seizing these ballot boxes in my State.

Mr. President, if they will not permit me to go into this matter I shall discuss it one of these days and I will call names. This secretive business in America must cease; this fighting behind a screen to put forward an alien propaganda must be put down in the United States. This Government must be held true to the purpose of its creation. Separation of church and state must go in both platforms in 1932. Let anybody refuse to put it in, then watch the voters at the ballot box. That influence is lurking in the offing and that influence is being felt in this body.

My good friend from Michigan [Mr. COUZENS] objects. I do not see why. I know all about the Senator's connections and relationships, but for the present I will continue to plead for a fair deal as an American Senator. I want an opportunity to go into the facts, to disclose the truth, whether it is for me or against me.

Did you ever hear of just such obstructive tactics, Mr. President? Senate agents have trailed the fraud and corruption in my State to the ballot boxes; there it is in hiding; the ballot boxes already opened in violation of the law; janitors carrying keys to the sheriff's office, where the ballot boxes are stored; but when a Senator asks that they be seized immediately and taken out and turned over to a responsible authority, objection is made, and the Senator from Michigan becomes a party to it. I shall discuss the matter at length and go into all the details, let the chips fall where they may. The truth of this stealing in Alabama has got to be known; it shall be known.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Alabama?

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I understand that objection has been made.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The present occupant of the chair was not presiding at the time. He now understands that objection was made. The bill is open to amendment.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, objection was made by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. MOSES] and by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. COUZENS]—those two.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The present occupant of the chair was not in the chair at the time objection was made.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President, in view of the fact that certain statements have been made with reference to an incident in Jackson County, at the request of some citizens of Jackson County I send to the desk a telegram of January 22, a letter of January 22, and a letter of January 26 with reference to the election in Jackson County, and ask to have them read from the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the reading of the telegrams and letters? The Chair hears none, and the clerk will read, as requested.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

SCOTTSBORO, ALA., January 22, 1931.

Senator HUGO BLACK,
United States Senate:

Charges in Sentinel article introduced in Senate absolutely true. Have been verified by affidavits now in hands of Department of Justice. Full details can be obtained from Birmingham office, Department of Justice. Deputy marshal referred to is Tally Willis, of Huntsville. Just appointed in spite of his activities here on election day in behalf of Senator HEFLIN. Can verify above charges by testimony of hundred citizens of Jackson County.

JAMES M. PROCTOR.

SCOTTSBORO, ALA., January 22, 1931.

Hon. HUGO L. BLACK,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR BLACK: Replying to your telegraphic request for copy of affidavits filed with the Department of Justice, I beg to advise that we kept no copies of the affidavits, but additional affidavits can be obtained at any time you desire them. These affidavits were furnished us from practically every precinct in Jackson County and they were turned over by me to a special investigator sent here by the Department of Justice. I am confident that you can obtain the originals or true copies thereof by writing or wiring Mr. Vetterlee, head of the Birmingham branch of the Department of Justice.

If Senator HEFLIN is anxious for an investigation of the general election, we hope that he will begin with Jackson County. We are confident that if a contest is held, Bankhead's majority in this county will be doubled; although, because of the presence of these so-called "Federal officers" at the polls, many regular Democrats were frightened away and did not vote. HEFLIN's supporters voted men and women who had never registered and who had failed to pay their poll tax, as required by law. When these illegal voters were challenged by the election officers, their leaders persuaded them to sign the challenge oath and vote under promises of immunity from prosecution. Upon every hand could be heard the following admonition from the HEFLIN leaders to their following: "Go on and vote, whether you are qualified or not. We have the jury box filled with independent voters and they can't indict or convict you. If they should convict you, our governor will pardon you."

If there is any proof you desire regarding the general election in this county last November, I shall be glad to furnish it to you upon receipt of your request.

Respectfully yours,

JAMES M. PROCTOR.

SCOTTSBORO, ALA., January 26, 1931.

Hon. HUGO L. BLACK,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: * * * So that you might have a full understanding of the true facts connected with this matter, I will attempt to give you the full particulars, as disclosed by the investigation of the Department of Justice.

The United States deputy marshal, Tally Willis, came to Scottsboro on Sunday before the general election held on Tuesday. He immediately began holding conferences with HEFLIN's supporters and local Republican leaders. He was seen in company with these men in various sections of Jackson County on Sunday. The next day Mr. Willis obtained a car from a local garage, the managers of which are also independent voters, and left Scottsboro for Nashville. On his way to Nashville, however, he wrecked this car and was forced to return to Scottsboro for additional conveyance. The garage from whom he rented this automobile sent another car, with a driver by the name of Preston Young. Mr. Young and Mr. Willis then drove to Nashville and picked up four men there. They then returned to Jackson County and Willis, with his four companions, began parading the streets of Scottsboro for the purpose of lending the impression that this election would be held under Federal supervision, as had frequently been charged by HEFLIN and his supporters.

On the following day, election day, these men were sent to various sections of the county, accompanied by independent leaders, and they began a series of tours from election box to election box. They would go into the election booth and ask for the names of the election officers. These names they would put down on paper and make additional inquiries as to the methods used in holding the election. Then they would inquire whether Tally Willis, United States deputy marshal, had been to that box or not.

Now the truth of the matter is that none of these men were really Federal officers except Willis. Nevertheless, Willis being well known here as a Federal officer, the people naturally assumed that his companions were also officers, and when they inquired for Willis at the various election boxes, it was done for the purpose of producing the impression that they were all Federal officers. The investigation also disclosed that the men from Nashville received \$50 each for their services here on that day and were paid by a local Republican leader.

Of course we are unable to say whether or not Senator HEFLIN had anything whatever to do with these occurrences. Nevertheless, it will be recalled that in practically every speech he made he stated that the 1928 election had been stolen from Hoover but that if Cy Brown and Ed Pettus stole this election from him that

he would take the matter before the Federal authorities; that this was a Federal election for the election of the United States Senator, and that it would be held under Federal supervision. While HEFLIN's connection with the presence of the officers can not be definitely shown, we are confident that his reference to Federal supervision in his many speeches paved the way for their presence here on election day.

In conclusion, should this matter come before the Senate again we will greatly appreciate it if you will inform your colleague that no boxes or ballots have been destroyed in this county; that they are all intact and can be readily examined when a proper contest is filed; that every Democrat in Jackson County is anxious for a full investigation of this election; and that we feel that such investigation will disclose the fact that HEFLIN was defeated in this county by a goodly majority over and above that shown in the official returns.

Yours very truly,

JAMES M. PROCTOR.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, the Senate needs no more than these statements to show the wisdom of my position in seeking to get the ballot boxes out of the hands of these people. In two statements read there the writers boast that, if an investigation is had, Bankhead's majority will be double what it already is. That is what I know, and therefore I want to get the ballot boxes away from them. If they keep the ballot boxes, the number of Bankhead ballots may be more than doubled. If they will steal an election, they will fix the ballots, unless we can get the ballots away from them.

One of these letters sets out that in my speeches I made the statement that this election would be held under Federal supervision. I never said any such thing at any place in my State or elsewhere. I said that the election of a Senator was an important matter and, in a sense, a Federal question, and the United States Senate would investigate and should investigate if the election was stolen, and that I would have it done. I did say that everywhere in the State.

Some of those opposing me boldly declared that they would steal the election. They said they did not care how much my majority was; that they had the machinery, and that they would count the ballots as they wanted to count them. I did warn them that it was a dangerous thing to steal an election of a United States Senator; that that part of it was Federal, and that the Senate would investigate; and I threatened to have a senatorial investigation. I never said that the election would be held under Federal supervision; I had nothing on earth to do with that man going there; and I do not believe yet that he went there and made the statement that they say he made—that he was there at my instance to protect HEFLIN's interests.

My colleague had a paper read the other day which said that after this man appeared, there were those who were going to vote for HEFLIN, but who abandoned his cause and went and voted for Bankhead. It looks, Mr. President, like that thing was a fixed-up affair by the Bankhead forces, and now they are undertaking to lay it on me and my friends. There is no truth in it. I have denounced it heretofore. The Senator has been unable to get any affidavits from anybody worthy of belief to substantiate that villainous charge.

Mr. President, let me say again, in two of those statements that were read the writers say that if an investigation is had, Bankhead's majority will be twice what it is now. Is not that enough notice to the Senate that we ought to get these ballots out of their hands as soon as possible? Senators, we have a terrible condition in certain places in my State with regard to certain election manipulators. There is a bunch of them in my State that live on it. They thrive on it. They can be hired to manipulate elections, to steal ballots, to defeat the will of sovereign voters.

That is a situation of which I am trying to relieve my State. I want the elections in my State to be so fair, so just and honest, that every voter's vote shall be counted as cast. I want the humblest man and woman qualified to vote, to vote just as they want to vote, without the interference of those who want to compel them to vote as they would have them vote. Intimidation and coercion were employed on the largest scale ever known in my State; and

now, when they see an investigation coming that is going to undo this thing, expose this rottenness, and be done with ballot-box thievery, they are writing letters to my colleague, and he is feeding them into the RECORD, to reflect on me and my friends down there. Well, we will have ample opportunity to fight those out at a judgment bar where there are no rules to prevent the discussion, and where my colleague must answer whether he favored this investigation as I have suggested it, or whether he opposed it through Senator MOSES and the Senator from Michigan [Mr. COUZENS].

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to print in the RECORD just here, as a part of my remarks, some marked articles from Madison County, an adjoining county to Jackson, where their grand jury indicted six men for fraud and corruption in the so-called Democratic primary election of August, 1930. They not only had this corruption in the general election; it was in their primary in which Bankhead was nominated. It ran on its foul and poisonous stream and overflowed ballot boxes in the general election. I am asking to have the ballots seized, the boxes opened, and the truth revealed; and an objection comes from those in sympathy with the opposition to getting at the truth in this case!

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD, as part of my remarks, these articles as I have numbered them.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The articles are as follows:

[From the Tennessee Valley News of Friday, August 15, 1930]

CORRUPTION?

Rascality in political elections has been prevalent in almost every section of the country for many years, but if there is any truth in rumors spoken by hundreds of persons in Huntsville and in information that has come directly to the Tennessee Valley News from most reliable sources, Madison County faces one of its worst political disgraces in its spectacular career as a result of corruption said to have been practiced on a wholesale scale in various precincts during the Tuesday Democratic primary election.

Tremors of groundless falsehoods and equivocations, designed to harmlessly annoy political candidates, no doubt are heard at every election, but the rumble of the anti-justice gods that stalked the county Tuesday has all the undertones of truth and a truth that may be destined to astonish many when it is uncovered.

The Tennessee Valley News is a disinterested party in the results of the Tuesday election as far as candidates are concerned. It is neither partial nor impartial to any. What it does stand for and will forever stand for is for the sovereign rights of American citizens, particularly those residing in its midst. There is every indication that crookedness abounded in the Democratic primary, and the Tennessee Valley News and every honest, respectable citizen in the county does not and will never sanction the miscarriage of justice.

Street gossip should be enough to justify an investigation by the Madison County grand jury. Since that is quite unlikely, other methods must be brought into play to impress upon the good people of this country the gravity of the situation and the necessity for some sort of investigation by some official body. Where there is smoke there is usually fire to be found by searching in the underbrush.

Affidavits have been procured which, if true, will prove beyond a possible doubt that a political machine functioned at Gurley precinct No. 15, and possibly other precincts, malignant in its purposes.

The affidavits charge that Ben F. Giles, candidate for the nomination of sheriff, personally solicited votes in Gurley on the morning of the election. If that be true, the Alabama statute governing elections has been grossly violated and the good citizens of this county insulted. If that be false, then Giles should be exonerated of the charges contained in the affidavits and his name cleared, and the person making the affidavit should be prosecuted for perjury.

The affidavits go further and claim that an inspector erased marks on a ballot at the same precinct and substituted in their places other marks elsewhere on the ballot. If that be true, the people have a right to know of it and to insist that some action be taken in investigating such a breach of the law, to say nothing of the downright ratlike practice such an act constitutes.

Walter Sanders, another candidate for the sheriff's nomination, received 5 first-choice votes and 4 second-choice ones from the Gurley precinct, according to the official check made by the executive committee Thursday afternoon. Affidavits have been made by qualified electors in excess of the number of votes accredited Mr. Sanders, stating that they cast their first choice votes for Mr. Sanders. If their sworn word is true, where did those votes go?

Other affidavits have been made by electors who participated in the primary, but did not cast a vote in the sheriff's race. Why, then, were 160 votes reported in the race for sheriff when another affidavit by one of the officials at the Gurley precinct box on the

day of the election states that only 158 or 159 persons were assigned numbers on the poll list and only that number participated in the entire election at that precinct? Are the people to stand for such discrepancies?

The Tennessee Valley News has no interest in the matter other than that it wants to see justice prevail, and it intends to fight for the great principle of right as long as there is breath.

If the people of Madison County and Gurley—those who want to uphold law and order—aim to stand idly by and permit such conditions to exist as are indicated by the affidavits mentioned herein—then the thunderous noises of the huge cannon of right are merely swishes from a toy cap pistol that failed to fire, and the giant oak of democracy is only a hollow stump.

The Tennessee Valley News offers what information has come to its attention to the grand jury and will always do so in the interest and cause of cleanliness—not only in politics but in all things.

[From the Tennessee Valley News of Sunday, August 17, 1930]

NERO FIDDLES

Information reaching the Tennessee Valley News Friday and Saturday in regard to more than alleged corruption practiced in a wholesale way in the Democratic primary election was anything but pleasant.

Rumors have grown almost overnight into sworn statements that one of the most powerful but poorly planned and executed political rings has been operating in Madison County which bids fair to bring a stain upon the community that only an investigation by a grand jury will wipe out.

The Tennessee Valley News Monday will present such affidavits it has before Judge Paul Speake, circuit-court judge, to be used in any manner he sees fit as the county's highest tribunal authority.

Information has come to the Tennessee Valley News that a candidate for the office of tax assessor in the recent Democratic primary paid the sum of \$50 in cash to an elector in the Whitesburg precinct to be used in influencing voters of that community to vote for the said candidate. That information will also be turned over to Judge Speake.

Further than that, the elector in whose hands two \$20 United States certificates of currency and one \$10 certificate were placed by the candidate for tax assessor just prior to election day, in the presence of a witness, told a Tennessee Valley News representative that the same candidate returned to his home on Thursday night and made the following statements:

"It looks like we are in for a little trouble. How much will it take to shut this deal of ours up?"

"I am not for sale," the elector replied, according to the information he gave and which he offered to testify to before a Federal grand jury.

Does that look like Huntsville and Madison County politics is as pure and free from taint as many of us thought it to be? No; it doesn't; and from all indications there is a sentiment among the better element in the county to see that justice prevails and the violators of Alabama's election laws be tried by a fair and impartial jury.

If there is any truth in the affidavits in possession of the Tennessee Valley News—and it has no reason to believe such information unfounded—the good citizens of this county have a right to defend themselves against being defrauded of their right of free suffrage.

Let justice take its legal course and reach its ultimate decisions on what Judge Speake or a grand jury discovers in an investigation.

There was rottenness of the vilest sort committed here during the past two weeks, and until the truth is revealed it will smell to high heaven like a prize fighter's sock.

[From the Tennessee Valley News of Wednesday, August 20, 1930]

CHECK AND DOUBLE CHECK

That an investigation into corrupt practices of politicians and their rotten henchmen during the recent Democratic primary election will be forthcoming with adjournment of circuit court assures Madison County that the majority of its residents are anxious to wash the dirty shirt that has been flaunted in their faces.

Judge Paul Speake, in promising to summon the recessed grand jury for further duty, has performed one of the most useful services that could be done here in the interest of clean government.

A man, whose name we will not mention but who resides in Huntsville in lamb's clothing in the eyes of many unsuspecting citizens, had the insolence and wickedness Tuesday afternoon, while discussing a rumor he had heard of a grand jury being called to investigate the affair, to publicly state in the presence of witnesses that a grand jury would never be called because "pressure might be brought to bear upon those in charge to prevent it." The filthy louse that made the statement, and others like him who contaminate our community with their undesirable presence, should be made to eat his loose-mouthed remarks.

If this obnoxious personage knows so much, perhaps he would like to appear before the grand jury and give it what information he has in his possession. If he does not know that it is wrong to defame and slander a person, when he knows that his head is as unproductive and unfertile as a capon, then perhaps it might

interest him to know that besides being a willful, malicious enemy to society he falls into the category of public nuisances.

The Tennessee Valley News has uncovered enough nastiness to satisfy it that some office seekers in the Democratic election primary resorted to the most unlawful and disgraceful acts imaginable. But pigs will play in the sloppiest spot in the pen, so after all it is not astonishing to find people in places where they most enjoy being.

The Tennessee Valley News is satisfied, from the information it has in its possession, that there are other and worse things which will come out when the grand jury takes a hand in the investigation. Those things will come out if the grand jury and the solicitor are at all enthusiastic in wanting to see the good name of the county cleared of this stench.

While some of the agents of those who engineered the corrupt ring activities are deserving of punishment, theirs should be dealt with relatively and the men higher up—the men who furnished money to be used in buying votes—should be the ones to whom punishment, upon conviction, should be meted out to the extent of the law.

From some who will not commit themselves in writing but who have expressed to the Tennessee Valley News their willingness to go before the grand jury and tell what they know, information has come to the News involving a Huntsville merchant as one of the higher-ups in the mire.

If that be true, then he and the others who are connected up around the top of all this disgraceful affair deserve to be sent to the penitentiary, if convicted by trial, and trial they should have.

It is not the intention of the Tennessee Valley News to attack any person in the community or elsewhere, as a person. The Tennessee Valley News intends to stand foursquare for right and justice, and its coat and shirt have been discarded. It is ready to fight and fight to a finish to rid Madison County of filthy politics.

It owes that much to the good people of the community—the good people who have stood by it when it needed help. It is a duty of a newspaper, as a servant of the public, to champion the rights of its patrons. The people's cause is the newspaper's line of duty. This fight is not the Tennessee Valley News's fight alone but one for the people of Madison County—the better element who appreciate cleanliness and abhor any underhanded attempts at illegality.

We have borne the burden of responsibility this far and plan to carry on until our services are either no longer needed or other causes of the people arise to demand our attention.

We have heard it said in certain quarters that this is an attack by the Jeffersonian Hoovercrats against the regular Democratic Party and that it is being done to throw as much mud on the regular Democrats as possible. Such an idea is grossly untrue and without any foundation whatsoever.

Honesty is not as flexible as a rubber hose. If there are any negroes in the Jeffersonian woodpile we will welcome information about its primary activities with the same enthusiasm now used against certain candidates in the Democratic race.

At any rate, the fight is on and the suggestion of the Tennessee Valley News is: Those whose shoes are too tight may as well expect sore feet.

[From the Tennessee Valley News of Friday, August 22, 1930]

SOUP'S ON

To just what extent vicious practices were used in the recent Democratic primary election remains for a grand jury to unearth. There will be enough information given it in the beginning to warrant its most careful consideration—perhaps the most careful consideration ever given by a grand jury summoned for any purpose in Madison County.

Operations of the ring were of the vilest type and would not grace the breast of a scorpion. How long has this splendid community been in the grip of this hideous monster "corruption"? Though those who knew of crookedness in previous elections remained silent and allowed those connected with the ring to get bolder and more open with their filthy bribery and heinous outrages, Madison County now has an opportunity to go to the bottom of the affair and, with the aid of the better element of people who intend to see justice done, demand that those responsible for such a condition here be placed behind the bars.

The tragedy is a disgraceful one and a sad one indeed. None but a citizen of inferior mind enjoys nastiness and disorders. It will not be pleasant to bring to light much that was done here during the election. But the dastardly operations and ruthless infringements upon the rights of the county's good citizens by simple-minded morons who sought to stoop to all sorts of baseness to gain their point justify the entire affair being uncovered and the guilty ones given their medicine.

That something should be done to arrest the advance of a movement of this kind to bring shame upon a community is readily apparent by summing up several disorders happening elsewhere in the country to-day and several disgraces in Madison County's past that have left their stains on this fair section of the State.

There was the Hugh Craft murder—discussed for months as a political murder. To what extent will stinking humanity go to gain a point when turned loose without restrictions in a community? A vote buyer, an inspector, who successfully gets away with changing ballots, is the type of citizen who will not hesitate to kill, if necessary, should some one stand in his way. This ring that has been operating in Madison County will stop at nothing

if not halted. Then let's rid the community of their undesirable presence in a legal way, and if they belong in jail let's put them there.

Some remember the horrible death of Judge Lawler more than a decade ago. He was brutally slain and his body dropped into a slough beneath a bridge on the Whitesburg Pike, a heavy railroad iron tied to it—because of politics—the desire of two men for the office of probate judge. Certainly it will not do to bring up much more political history of Madison County. Oh, it's rotten enough, and if this ring operating here is permitted to continue with its open devilry anything can develop later. It deserves to be stopped and stopped now.

A plot to assassinate Gov. Doyle E. Carlton, of Florida, was uncovered and "nipped in the bud" by State and Federal agents only this week. A political outrage for which the three men arrested, if convicted, should be sent to the penitentiary for life. And the whole affair is the outgrowth of a plan by wealthy Cubans to keep horse and dog racing in Florida illegal, so that winter tourists will come to Cuba, where the sports abound, for their expensive pleasures. Money has been poured into the Florida State capital for lobbying purposes, and the editor of the Tallahassee paper, who has editorially attacked Carlton since his inauguration and who has bitterly opposed any attempt to legalize gambling in the State, is one of the three men arrested as planning the alleged attempted assassination.

A diary left by Jack Zuta, Chicago's No. 2 gangster, who was recently shot down by gunmen as he dropped nickels into a dance-hall player piano, reveals some of the most startling corrupt practices ever disclosed on Cook County politicians.

Will we permit things here to continue until Huntsville and Madison County become another Cook County? It has been headed in that direction. And it must be checked—it must be halted.

Those candidates in the recent election primary whose hands are clean of any irregularities will not be afraid to indorse the movement to stamp out forever rotten political disorders here. Those who participated in the ring's activities have every right to cower and remain silent or to even oppose any movement to uncover their dirty practices.

Good people here should be suspicious of any person who disapproves of the efforts being made to see clean politics prevail in the county. And every person who took any active part in the election campaign, who continues to remain silent immediately subjects himself to being placed in the class of the corrupt candidates.

Dishonesty is dishonesty the world over, and though warped and distorted into unbelievable shapes and forms, is easily recognizable. And there is a punishment for every dishonest offense known to intelligent lawmakers.

It is the opinion of the Tennessee Valley News that the well to be dug by the grand jury will be found to be an almighty deep one, if it performs its duty in this instance as well as it did when last in session.

There are some persons here, not worthy to be called citizens, whom the community would well get along without—and we have a brand new jail here that is not filled yet.

[From the Tennessee Valley News of Sunday, August 24, 1930]

WHAT PRICE GLORY?

What attraction can public office have that will make an otherwise respectable citizen stoop to underhanded and dishonest acts to acquire it?

That there must be something glorious, something profitable, something much to be desired in it is quite evident by the information obtained by the Tennessee Valley News during its unofficial investigation into corrupt practices during the recent Democratic primary election in Madison County.

Surely it can not be that the title of the office, such as the minor county offices carry, would cause a man to forsake the principles of right and wrong that he learned as a child at his mother's knee? Can it be that through placing certain men of "favorable acquaintanceship" into county offices already well-to-do men hoped to gain an unearned "rake-off"—a slice of the public bacon? Will men turn criminal in order to bleed the citizens of a community of something that the "outlaws of law and order" do not deserve?

If so, what price glory?

A man who will sell his birthright for a mess of pottage is merely a fool, but one who attempts to purchase the rights of a voter and who, finding that all citizens are not as big a black-guard as himself, steals what he can not buy, deserves eternal damnation, and he will probably get it. At least he will be given plenty of time for regret and remorse as he paces a dull-gray prison cell.

The grand jury has an unpleasant task but not a difficult one this time. The woods are smoking and there will be plenty of fire found in not a few of the hammocks.

The information continues to come in and with it comes the distressing news that the tax collector's race was tainted. Whether or not one of the candidates had a personal hand in the ring or whether he had knowledge of it is not known, but one of his friends took an active part in illegally using coercion with voters in an attempt to throw what influence possible toward him.

That leaves a few of the county offices left about which rottenness is not known. The Tennessee Valley News hopes that there was nothing irregular in those races about which it has uncovered

no corruption. For the name of the good community in which our citizens reside it hopes it. But if irregularities did exist, the Tennessee Valley News will be the first to demand that justice be performed and the guilty punished.

Some few persons still insist (in a roundabout gossip that never strays far from the gutter) that the interest of the Tennessee Valley News in this affair is merely a scheme backed by Jeffersonians to submerge the regular Democratic Party in a pool of vile political charges. Such a statement or even an idea is an abominable lie.

Jeffersonians, as an organization or as a group representing that organization, have had nothing whatever to do with the gathering of what information has been secured by the Tennessee Valley News. A representative of the Tennessee Valley News, who happens to be a regular Democrat and is registered as such in the State of Florida, county of Pinellas, and city of St. Petersburg, heard so many rumors prevalent during and immediately after the Democratic primary that he figured there must be a lot of truth in such accounts by their numbers if because of nothing else. Members of the Tennessee Valley News board of directors knew nothing of the idea until after the first day's work had been accomplished.

This is not one newspaper's battle—neither is it two newspapers' battle—alone, though only one publication in Huntsville is apparently interested in seeing the public get a square deal, judging from the absence of editorial comment in the daily newspaper. It is the fight of the people, and the Tennessee Valley News aims to aid in every manner possible in tracking the vicious leopards to their lairs. Ye shall know them by their spots.

The primary held in this county was rank. That its foulness will take on additional odors when the grand jury takes a grip upon the situation is already a settled fact, provided it takes the firm grip that it should and that the honest people here will demand and believe they will get.

And, by the way, perhaps the candidate for sheriff, who announced immediately after the primary that he was not really a candidate in anything but name but was a private detective here to uncover political disorders, may be able to furnish the grand jury with plenty of information. If he was here for the purpose of finding crookedness and found none, you can bet the unpaid-for radio that he didn't pull the blanket down far, for the bed was full of it.

We hope, however, that he may be able to really enlighten the grand jury further when it convenes.

The Tennessee Valley News has given its readers as nearly as it knows how a clear picture of conditions as they existed during the recent election. It has done its duty. It will now be up to the people of Madison County and the grand jury which will convene early in September.

Unless there be other information that comes to the paper, which it thinks the public should know, there will be nothing more said editorially about the corruption that it knows existed here. It remains subject to the call of the Madison County grand jury at its convenience.

[From the Tennessee Valley News of Sunday, August 31, 1930]

EYE FOR EYE

Friend Charlie McCall, Alabama attorney general, who has announced that he will conduct the grand-jury investigation into alleged Jackson County election irregularities, will not be needed in Madison County's clothes washing of a similar nature that begins here Wednesday morning.

It will take no attorney general to uncover crookedness here, for enough information has already been obtained by disinterested parties to show any grand jury that could be summoned that corruption was practiced in this county and practiced on a big scale.

To call in State investigators in our own family difficulties is unnecessary in this instance, and Madison County proposes to attend to its duties with its own native citizens sitting on the jury and in charge of the investigation.

Word has come to the Tennessee Valley News during the past week that many who do not wish to get mixed up in any public controversy desire to go before the closed doors of the grand jury and give testimony regarding corrupt acts resorted to by candidates and their hirelings during the Democratic election. A list of these names will be at the grand jury's service through the Tennessee Valley News, if they are wanted.

Vote buying, according to the corrupt practice act of the Code of Alabama, is considered a misdemeanor and is punishable only by fine and not imprisonment. That is unfortunate. Under such a law big sums of money can be shuffled from hand to hand without the slightest risk of any penalty that additional money can not square.

The merchant in Huntsville who was the Mussolini of the political ring and who "contributed" funds to be used in vote buying, deserves to be in only one place—and that's in the penitentiary. Such a person is more than a malignant growth allowed to continue his parasitic practices in this community. He is a dangerous menace to society and deserves more than merely having to pay a fine. He is a fiend and according to the strictest law of the Scriptures, "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," he should be made to pay the price for his folly.

The inspector who was seen to have changed a ballot at the Gurley polls has a little different situation facing him. The penalty for changing a ballot, upon conviction, carries with it a

prison sentence of not less than two nor more than five years. That also is unfortunate—for the inspector.

If a grand jury will go to the bottom of the affair in Madison County and conduct its investigation along strict legal lines, and yet not stop until it ferrets out the real leaders of the political ring that has ruled Madison County politics for the past 15 years, it will perform one of the greatest services the county has ever rendered and will come at a time when it is most needed.

While we are washing clothes there should be enough "bluing" put in the water to bleach the entire laundry output. The clothes are as dirty as any bed sheet that ever flew at the topmast of the ship of sinful desires, and the grand jury, we believe, will do its best to reinstate them to their natural purity. At least we shall see.

[From the Tennessee Valley News of Sunday, September 7, 1930]

TRUE BILLS RETURNED AT SPECIAL SESSION OF COUNTY PROBES—OFFICIALS AND JURYMEN CAREFULLY GUARD NAMES OF MEN—WARRANTS TO BE ISSUED SOMETIME MONDAY

The Madison County grand jury, summoned Wednesday to investigate alleged frauds in the Democratic election primary of August 12 and charges of mismanagement of the defunct Citizens' Life Insurance Co., after four days of probing, returned 19 indictments here Saturday afternoon at 5.25 o'clock, when it adjourned and made its report.

Who were named in the true bills and whether they were returned as a result of investigations into the election frauds or the life-insurance probings was not disclosed by the jury.

The bills were turned over to Judge Speake, circuit-court judge, who had recalled the jury for the investigation, and were to be given to J. G. Stogner, circuit-court clerk, who is to prepare warrants for the arrest of those named in the indictments.

It was reported that warrants would be drawn Monday and arrests made. Though much speculation was prevalent Saturday night, no one could authentically say who would be named in the indictments or how the bills would read.

Rumor had it that approximately four bills were returned in the insurance probe and the balance in the election investigation, but these reports had no official foundation, as information regarding the grand jury's probings remained carefully guarded by the jurymen themselves and other officials connected with the investigation.

Excitement during the afternoon reached fever heat when it was discovered that the Gurley-precinct ballot box was missing from Sheriff Riddick's office.

Investigation revealed that Emmett Rogers, Madison County Democratic executive committee chairman, about 1.30 o'clock obtained the box from Deputy Billy Russell at the sheriff's office and walked out of the courthouse with it in his hand.

Thursday the box had been examined by the jury and given to Bailiff R. S. Watson with instructions to keep it securely, indefinitely. He had deposited it in the sheriff's office under lock and key and, according to his own statement, told Russell not to let it out of his possession.

Rogers who, according to Alabama law, under ordinary circumstances would, as chairman of the executive committee, have had charge of the boxes for 30 days, at which time, if there were no contests, he would have by law had to destroy the ballots.

The committeeman, without an order for the box, obtained it from Russell and proceeded with it to his home in New Market. Upon learning that the box had been removed, the grand jury issued a subpoena for Rogers, instructing him to appear before the jury and return the box to it.

Rogers returned with the box at 5.20 o'clock and gave it to the jury which almost immediately adjourned to make its report.

The box was finally placed in the custody of Circuit Court Clerk Stogner.

At the time the box was examined by the jury Thursday, it is reported there was no key attached to the box, as there should have been, and a locksmith was called in to gain entrance to it without doing damage.

The box remained in Rogers' possession, or was away from the courthouse for a period of about four hours. Rogers was located by Sheriff Riddick at his residence in New Market.

Marked interest was manifest here in the investigation Wednesday morning when Alabama Attorney General Charlie C. McCall appeared here to assist County Solicitor James H. Pride with the probe.

Accompanying him were Assistant Attorney General Evans of Montgomery, and Special Investigators Reed, Skinner, and Mahan, of the State attorney's office.

Investigation into alleged corrupt practices said to have been practiced in Jackson County in both the regular Democratic and Jeffersonian primaries is scheduled to get under way Monday morning at Scottsboro, when the attorney general will take charge of a grand-jury probe there.

Ballot boxes of both primaries are now being held in a bank vault at Scottsboro, awaiting the arrival of McCall and his assistants.

[From the Tennessee Valley News of Wednesday, September 10, 1930]

MEN RELEASED WHEN \$12,000 IN BONDS POSTED—SEVEN INDICTMENTS RETURNED AGAINST ELECTION TRIO—GURLEY-PRECINCT ONLY ONE NAMED—ARRESTS NOT YET MADE IN INSURANCE-QUIZ INDICTMENTS

Appearance bonds totaling \$12,000 were posted here Monday and Tuesday for six men indicted Saturday by the Madison County

grand jury for Democratic primary-election frauds in the Gurley precinct on August 12.

True bills charging illegal voting, changing ballots, and making fraudulent returns were returned against J. Ed Styles, Frank Fowlkes, Robert C. Shelton, J. W. Atchley, Sam True, and Ed Wright, all of Gurley or vicinity. Each of the men had made bond Tuesday afternoon.

Seven separate indictments, five of which were of felonious nature and two for misdemeanor, were returned against Styles, Fowlkes, and Shelton. A bond of \$500 was required in each count.

Atchley, True, and Wright each furnished \$500 on separate indictments charging illegal voting.

The indictments were returned by the grand jury recalled in special session to investigate election irregularities and charges of mismanagement in the defunct Citizens Life Insurance Co.

Nine other true bills were returned by the jury presumably for corruption in the insurance firm's management, but Tuesday night the identity of those named in the indictments was still being carefully guarded by officials who had prepared warrants for their arrest.

While it has been rumored that two former high officials in the insurance firm and another former official of a bond and mortgage company now in operation here were named in the indictments, no official statement would be given from the office of the circuit-court clerk or from the sheriff's office.

It is understood, however, that efforts are being made to locate the whereabouts of the former officers and the warrants are expected to be served soon.

Indictments returned in the election investigation came somewhat as a surprise to many Madison County voters who looked with skepticism upon the probe.

The investigations were conducted by Solicitor James H. Pride, Assistant Solicitor M. U. Griffin, assisted by Attorney General Charlie C. McCall, Assistant Attorney General Evans, and three special investigators of the State attorney's office. The probe lasted four days.

WAR DEPARTMENT APPROPRIATIONS

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 15593) making appropriations for the military and non-military activities of the War Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and for other purposes.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Dill	Jones	Robinson, Ark.
Barkley	Fess	Kean	Schall
Bingham	Fletcher	Kendrick	Sheppard
Black	Frazier	Keyes	Shipstead
Blaine	Graze	La Follette	Shortridge
Blease	Gillett	McGill	Smith
Borah	Glass	McKellar	Steinwer
Bratton	Glenn	McMaster	Stephens
Brook	Goff	McNary	Swanson
Brookhart	Goldsbrough	Metcalf	Thomas, Idaho
Broussard	Gould	Morrison	Thomas, Okla.
Bulkeley	Hale	Morrow	Townsend
Capper	Harris	Moses	Trammell
Caraway	Harrison	Norris	Tydings
Carey	Hatfield	Nye	Vandenberg
Connally	Hawes	Oddie	Wagner
Copeland	Hayden	Partridge	Walcott
Couzens	Hebert	Phipps	Walsh, Mass.
Cutting	Heflin	Pine	Walsh, Mont.
Dale	Howell	Ransdell	Watson
Davis	Johnson	Reed	Williamson

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-four Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

Mr. FRAZIER. Mr. President, I wish to offer the amendment which I send to the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will read the proposed amendment.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 58, line 9, before the period, the Senator from North Dakota proposes to insert the following additional proviso:

Provided further, That none of the funds appropriated in this act shall be used for or toward the support of any compulsory military course or military training in any civil school or college, or for the pay of any officer, enlisted man, or employee at any civil school or college where a military course or military training is compulsory, but nothing herein shall be construed as applying to essentially military schools or colleges.

Mr. FRAZIER. Mr. President, this amendment provides that no money appropriated in the pending War Department appropriation bill shall be expended for the use of what is commonly known as compulsory military training in civil colleges and universities.

There are in the United States what are known as land-grant colleges, one in each State in the Union, and, with the

single exception of one of these land-grant colleges, all of them, including one in Porto Rico, provide for compulsory military training in connection with the other work of the college.

I will say in all fairness that the compulsory feature is not at the present time a part of the Government requirements. When the land-grant college law was originally enacted, during the Civil War, there was included in the act a provision that there should be compulsory military training.

Some years afterwards complaints and objections were raised and the law was amended. There has been a recent opinion by the Attorney General of the United States and by the Secretary of the Interior upon this particular subject, and both have held that under the present law the compulsory feature of military training in these land-grant colleges is not a part of the Federal law; in other words, that it is the local State boards, which control the State institutions, which have made the military training compulsory.

I will say, however, that, as I understand it, the regulations of the War Department, which have to do with the distribution of the funds provided in this measure, some millions of dollars, to say the least, are such that the State boards are practically compelled to have compulsory military training in the land-grant colleges in order to get any support from the War Department for military courses in the institutions. In other words, it is impossible in most of the land-grant colleges to have the course in military tactics elective and still get the support of the War Department.

In the State of Wisconsin, at the university and agricultural college there, a land-grant institution, the State some years ago made the military-training course elective and not compulsory. That university and college has continued to operate under that provision for some years and still has an elective military course; but it is the only one of the land-grant colleges in the United States thus providing. In every one of the other 47 States of the Union the land-grant colleges have a provision for compulsory military training. In those 47 States of the Union a farm boy who goes to one of the land-grant colleges to get an education along the lines of scientific agriculture or mechanics, in order to take that course, in order to get a degree from one of those colleges, must take at least two years of compulsory military training.

In my opinion it is un-American and contrary to all the traditions of our American Government to compel our college boys to take a compulsory course in military training. Many of the best educators that we have in the United States, the outstanding men and women in that profession, have gone on record time after time against compulsory military training in our colleges and schools. Various organizations—farmers' cooperative organizations, women's clubs, and business men's clubs—have gone on record in opposition to the compulsory feature providing for military training. I often wonder what the young men in our colleges and schools where there is compulsory military training must think of the Members of the United States Congress, especially of the Senate. After we had agreed to the so-called Kellogg peace pact, the purpose of which is the renunciation of war, and when, through the efforts largely of representatives of the United States Government, 57 other governments of the world were influenced to sign the so-called peace pact, in the face of that pact, which we got all the great nations of the world to sign, these boys who go to the colleges and universities of the United States, especially the land-grant colleges, are compelled to take at least two years in military training in order to get a degree. I often wonder what those boys must think of a situation of that kind.

I recently received a letter and a couple of pages from a publication. The letter came from the State of North Carolina, and I think the publication is from that State also. I want to read some portions of the article by Milton A. Abernathy and Richard E. Yates entitled "Militarism or Education—Which?" It reads:

To find in a college catalogue a statement such as the following—All physically acceptable freshmen and sophomores are required to take military training, except those excused by the president

of the college or the professor of military science and tactics—one need not go to Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, or Turkey, but to the 1929-30 Annual Catalog of North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering. This State institution is one of the land-grant colleges in a Nation which fought a "war to end war," and which signed the Kellogg peace pact. The land-grant colleges were established for the primary purpose of teaching agriculture and mechanics, the useful arts of peace; but we find that they have actually been subsidized for the teaching of the destructive arts of war to an even greater extent than have the colleges of any of the above-named countries.

Feeling that compulsory military training in colleges and universities is foreign to the policy of the American educational system, we are, without excuse or apology, vehemently opposed to this form of Prussianizing the American youth. We are not alone in this position, as is evidenced by the statements of the following men and women in this and other countries—men and women whose opinions are respected and whose authority can not be questioned. These opinions are available as a result of personal solicitation and they represent the growing attitude of many of the profoundest thinkers in the world at the present time.

As an introduction to the evidences of revolt which are accumulating against compulsory military training, we first present the statement received from Zona Gale, an internationally known author, winner of the Pulitzer prize, and a member of the board of regents of the University of Wisconsin.

Before I read that I want to say that what this article says about the land-grant college of North Carolina is true of all the other land-grant colleges in the United States, with the single exception of that in the University of Wisconsin; that in order for a boy to get the training provided in those colleges or universities he is compelled, unless he gets excused because of physical disability or something of the kind, to take at least two years of military training. This is a statement from Zona Gale:

* * * The major difficulty met by those in all land-grant colleges who seek to rid their curricula of this strange survival is the conviction that land-grant colleges were established on condition that military "science" be taught.

Now, here are the precise words of that land-grant college original bill:

* * * the endowment, support, and maintenance of at least one college where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific or classical studies, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts."

This bill was passed by both House and Senate, and was vetoed by President Buchanan, February 26, 1859.

In 1862 this bill passed both House and Senate with the addition of four words:

* * * the endowment, support, and maintenance of at least one college where the leading object shall be (without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics) to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts."

Therefore, if military tactics is incumbent upon land-grant colleges, so is agriculture. But the raising of grain and stock and the discovery of vitamins is in no university regarded as a freshman and sophomore requirement.

It is interesting that military tactics is referred to less and less frequently as the art of self-defense, and more often as the "art" of killing and of physical self-defense, which it clearly is. Since during 1914-1917 most of the university fields where military drill was conducted had somewhere upon them a row of dangling straw-filled bags which the students learned scientifically to bayonet, this addition of the word "killing" to "defense" seems academically allowable. One writes of this and feels the dark ages still enfolding one.

The thesis is, of course, merely this:

That since the world is seriously seeking to rid itself of the use of physical wounds and bloodshed as a means of settlement of social difficulties, the universities and colleges should be the first to assist by refusing to perpetuate the outgrown psychology.

Mr. President, I think this statement from Zona Gale is very good and covers the subject quite thoroughly. The last paragraph which I just read, it seems to me, is unanswerable.

The writer proceeds:

If the gods of war think that only a few so-called pacifists and men not acquainted with the value of military training are opposed to the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, the following quotation should dispel forever this vagrant belief. Raymond B. Fosdick, civilian aide to General Pershing in France, chairman of camp activities in the Army and Navy Departments in 1917-18, special representative of the Secretary of War on the Mexican border, and special representative of the War Department in France in 1917-18, sends the following statement:

"I am unalterably opposed to compulsory military training in our schools and colleges. The purpose of these courses is officially stated to be 'the development of good manhood through military drill,' and doubtless there is much about such exercise that is physically excellent; but there is much, too, that is cynical and

sinister. It has as its chief result, as President Morgan, of Antioch College, has pointed out, a change in the mental outlook of young people, so that they look upon war as a normal part of life and expect to take part in it. It habituates the thought of the participants to slaughter as a rational means of settling international difficulties, as a legitimate method of reaching decisions. By its emphasis upon force as the controlling factor in human society, it surrounds them with an atmosphere of skepticism toward those generous, humane, sensitive impulses which the race has struggled during so many centuries, and in the face of so many discouragements, to breed into its life. In its spirit the Reserve Officers' Training Corps negatives all that the rest of our college courses ostensibly seek to accomplish. It is a blatant denial of everything that we mean by a liberal education.

Mr. President, those last two sentences strike me, especially since they come from a military officer, as rather significant. I want to read again those last two sentences of Mr. Fosdick's:

In its spirit the Reserve Officers' Training Corps negatives all that the rest of our college courses ostensibly seek to accomplish. It is a blatant denial of everything we mean by a liberal education.

Mr. President, I think that statement is correct. It seems, and has seemed to me for years, that it is absolutely contrary to our highest ideals of a college education to compel our young men to take military training. The writer goes on:

Another theory advanced and encouraged by the Military Department is attacked by Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of The Nation, and one of the most liberal writers and thinkers of the country, who contributes the following:

"I am absolutely opposed to military training in schools and colleges because I have come to understand that training of the kind that is given in our institutions has little or no military value and is far inferior for the training of the body to gymnastic exercises. I did not always think so, and took part in forming a military company in Harvard."

At Harvard, I might say, there is an elective course in military training.

It was my experience that made me see the futility of the enterprise. . . .

And in this country I am particularly opposed to training of this kind because it is deliberately utilized for the purposes of spreading nationalistic and militaristic propaganda and a narrow viewpoint upon all problems, domestic and foreign. I find this constant teaching of superpatriotism to be directly in opposition to the present pacific tendency of the Government. It is as if the War Department were deliberately working to inculcate and uphold a spirit that is directly contrary to that of the Federal Government.

The writer goes on:

Harry Emerson Fosdick, one of the outstanding pastors in this country, clearly states his position on military training in American colleges and universities:

"In common with many who are hoping for a better day of international peace, I have regarded with a great deal of apprehension the growing habit of putting compulsory military training into State-supported colleges and universities of the Nation.

"At the close of the war there was a decided movement to force compulsory military training upon the Nation as a whole. This was so overwhelmingly defeated by the salutary force of public opinion that the military authorities had no choice except to succumb to the popular will. They have, however, been plainly endeavoring to substitute for this wider program a limited program of compulsory military training in the high schools and colleges of the Nation. I regard this as an entirely un-American policy."

I might say, Mr. President, that besides the land-grant colleges which have compulsory military training there are several other colleges that have military training, and also a number of high schools. There are 90 civilian colleges and 25 city high-school systems that have compulsory military training, affecting a total of approximately 85,000 students.

David Starr Jordan, one of America's greatest authors, educators, and naturalists, an unquestioned authority on world affairs, sends the following concise statement:

"I am unalterably opposed to military training in any of our schools and colleges."

President of Columbia University, Nicholas Murray Butler minces no words when he makes the following short but common sense statement:

"Compulsory military training in schools and colleges is as out of date in this country and in this age as would be the compulsory instruction in any other practice which civilized mankind has outgrown."

Some criticism may be made of some of those from whom I am quoting, that they are radicals and extremists, but I

do not think that statement will possibly stand out against Nicholas Murray Butler, of Columbia University.

There are some other views here which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD along with my remarks, without reading.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ODDIE in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

As one whose views are listened to and respected, Lewis Mumford, liberal author and lecturer, regards compulsory military training as not being in harmony with the spirit of the American college:

"There are three questions to be asked of those who promote compulsory military training in our schools and colleges.

"First. Against whom are you arming and under what pretext do you propose to fight another war?

"Second. Are the militarists aware that war as an instrument of national policy has been renounced by treaty, and is therefore a law of the land?

"Third. What place has compulsory training in a system of free education whose end is to create autonomous men capable of choosing bad from good and discriminating between justice and injustice? Do they feel that the case of military training is so weak that they dare not leave it to the suffrage of the students?

"I do not expect that the militarists will give a clear-cut answer to these questions, for it is only by accident that they will let the cat out of the bag. They prefer to rest their case on a vague fear of 'aggression' by some shadowy power and draw attention from the fact that war can not possibly happen unless the United States seeks to be the aggressor. If the intentions of the United States are pacific, military training is at best a tedious anachronism and at worst an attempt to use the threat of warfare in the effort to create a thoroughly servile and regimented population which will have no tendency to rise, in Whitman's words, against the never-ending audacity of elected persons * * *"

Mr. FRAZIER. I read further from the article:

From Norman Thomas, socialist candidate for the Presidency in 1928, and one of the outstanding men in the trend of new political thought, we received the following:

"Why do we have military training in our colleges? Certainly not to make soldiers. If we wanted to make soldiers we would not cut out bayonet drill, but put it in. We would familiarize the boys with digging trenches in the rain and living with the rats, with exercises in putting on and off gas masks and hurling imitation bombs. Instead the War Department tries to prettify war and sugarcoat the pill of drill with polo ponies and pretty girls. Still worse, in a country which has definitely rejected the principle of compulsory military training and has signed a pact outlawing war, most of our State universities and many of our colleges make drill compulsory as the price of education.

"There is one reason, and only one reason, for all this. That reason is not building character or developing physique. * * * The War Department, as various statements by responsible officers have made plain, seeks to inculcate the acceptance of militarism as a philosophy * * *"

This statement mentions pretty girls and polo ponies in connection with the military drills. At some colleges, including some of the land-grant colleges, which have compulsory military training, they have cavalry divisions, and where such divisions are found generally they also have polo ponies, and polo games are played by the college boys.

His reference to the pretty girls is due to the fact that in many of the colleges where there is compulsory military training some of the most popular girls of the university or college are selected as sort of honorary members of the military companies. That is why he refers, I presume, to the pretty girls.

I read further from the article:

From Arthur E. Morgan, president of Antioch College, and one of the greatest civil engineers of the country, we received the following—a masterpiece on "tradition of the military man."

I had hoped the Senator from Ohio would be on the floor when I read this statement, because Antioch College is in the great State of Ohio and President Morgan is one of the outstanding educators of the Nation—

I object to military training in schools and universities because its primary aim is to build the war spirit in the minds of young men and women. I believe that military training in schools and colleges is worthless from a technical standpoint. Its chief effective result is to develop the spirit of war and the attitude of obedience to military authority. * * *

The military man honestly believes that his primary loyalty is to his country, whereas I believe it is not to his country but to the military profession and the military tradition. A proof of this is the fact, I believe, that the military man has higher respect and regard for the military man in the country of his possible enemies than he has for the man in that country who

deprecates the military profession. * * * Contrary to his own beliefs, his loyalty is just to his profession and not to his country.

Our so-called military training in the schools is not military training in a technical sense. It is competitive propaganda to secure the loyalty of young Americans to a philosophy of life and of world affairs. As an intellectual and spiritual guide, I do not trust the military man.

The writer of the article continues:

In concluding this evidence against compulsory military training we present the following statement from Bertrand Russell, author of note, and one of the outstanding philosophers and mathematicians of the world to-day—

I believe Mr. Russell is a citizen of England—

I am glad of the opportunity to express as forcibly as I can my profound dislike of compulsory military training wherever it occurs. It is, however, most of all to be deprecated when connected with institutions which are nominally educational. Education should enable a man, through the acquisition of knowledge and skill, to live constructively by his own initiative; the purpose of military drill is to teach men to live destructively by the initiative of others.

In the civilized world at the present day, and in the United States more particularly, the practical influence of disarmament conferences, antiwar propaganda, and pacifist sentiment is outweighed by the daily drilling of young men in blind muscular obedience to the behests of this stupid and antiquated ferocity.

No sane man can suppose that America is in any danger of invasion by a foreign army. Therefore, in so far as the initiators of American militarism can be supposed capable of rational thought, one is compelled to infer that they desire armed forces to further imperialistic designs in foreign countries. Young men in America accordingly, as in my own country, appear to me to be acting with sane courage and true patriotism if they refuse to give in to this murderous insanity.

The writer concludes with these words:

We have reviewed the evidence against this insidious propaganda masquerading under the name of "Compulsory military training." In the light of the evidence, it is clear that the following conclusions are forthcoming: First, that the military departments of the colleges and universities of the Nation are using every means at their command in the attempt to popularize their pseudomilitary training; second, that military training and "preparedness" do not avert war, but rather serve to make war more imminent; third, that military training is not superior to other training in developing correct posture, improving health, and instilling peace-time discipline in men; and, finally, that military training establishes a war philosophy that causes people unconsciously to accept war as the proper means of settling international disputes.

Since many of the great and outstanding men and women of this and other countries have openly expressed their serious and sincere objection to compulsory military training as it is now carried out in the colleges, universities, and high schools of this Nation, ample proof has been given that this feature of our American educational system is futile and objectionable and should be eliminated as a national policy.

Has not the day come when we must ask the question, Militarism or education—which?

Mr. President, this amendment was debated at some length in the body at the other end of the Capitol a few days ago on this very bill. In the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 15 will be found, beginning on page 2263, a list of the colleges and universities and high schools and junior colleges in the United States where they have compulsory military training and where they have elective military training.

During the course of the debate on this amendment in the House, Congressman WELSH of Pennsylvania, coming from the same grand old State as the chairman of our Senate Committee on Military Affairs, makes a statement from which I desire to quote a paragraph or two.

He says that he has been a member of the board of education of the city and county of Philadelphia for some years, and has enrolled about 34,000 high-school students, so he speaks as one who has had actual experience in training these young people in educational work. I quote from his statement. This is on page 2269 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, under date of January 15:

There is not an educator of consequence in the United States—and I think I can say this without fear of contradiction—who would not say that he is unalterably opposed to military training being compulsory in our schools and colleges. I am not speaking as a layman, but I am speaking as a man who has devoted 20 years of his life to education in the great city of Philadelphia, and I know exactly how educators in other parts of the United States view this problem. When you introduce compulsory military training in the schools and colleges, or permit it or require it in order that the school may receive a Federal appropriation, you

are disorganizing the whole machinery of the educational part of the institution's work, and I am one who believes that the education of America to-day should be democratic; that we should not teach military science in our free citizenship institutions. If we are going to teach military training, let us confine it to the military colleges and to the student training camps.

A little farther down in his statement I find these sentences:

The training is of little military value. The real purpose back of this is psychological. It is desired to create in the minds of the youth of America the military viewpoint. It is not for the military science they are going to learn, but it is the military psychology that they want to instill in the minds of the American youth.

I think the Congressman from Pennsylvania is correct in that statement. When I attended the State university of my State, a long time ago, we had compulsory military training, and I took two years of that military training. I did not like at that time the compulsory feature of it. I did not mind the military drill much, but I did object to the compulsory part of it; and some of the young men protested bitterly against being compelled to take military training. Of course, at that time we had the old-fashioned muskets with long bayonets, and we wore the belt with the bayonet, and we were taught to fix bayonets and all the bayonet maneuvers. As was said in one of the statements from which I read, the drill with bayonets has been eliminated from the college military courses during the last few years because of the criticism that came from the use of bayonets. It does not look nearly so ferocious to see the boys marching around with muskets without bayonets as it does to see them marching with those glittering bayonets on the ends of rifles. So, to make it seem less harsh and to avoid some criticism, the War Department has eliminated the use of the bayonet in the so-called Reserve Officers' Training Corps training of our land-grant colleges and other colleges and high schools where we have military training to-day.

On pages 2270, 2271, and 2272 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 15 are quotations from various organizations throughout the United States—educational organizations, farm organizations, labor organizations—against compulsory military training. Some are from the national educational organizations, opposed to compulsory military training in our schools and colleges.

I desire to quote just a little further from this number of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. On page 2276 is a statement by Congressman COLLINS, of Mississippi. In the course of Mr. COLLINS's remarks, he says:

Now, the attitude of the War Department is not only to put this training in the institutions but they require that an institution compel a boy who once enrolls in a military course to complete that course before he can be graduated in his academic subjects. Under the existing circumstances a boy could make a grade of 100 per cent in every school subject and be denied his diploma just because he failed in military drill. That is a deplorable situation for this country of ours.

Mr. President, the Congressman is absolutely correct in that statement. In order to get his degree in our land-grant colleges, and a lot more of our universities and high schools, too, a young man is compelled to take the military drill and pass his examination on military tactics, and if he fails in that he does not get his degree.

Congressman COLLINS continues:

Let us examine further the attitude of the War Department. Testimony before our committee showed that a school out in California was not permitted by the War Department to change from compulsory to elective training. Last year they were listed in the War Department figures given our committee as having compulsory training. This year they have none. The department dropped them entirely when they tried to make drill elective.

Also notice the attitude of the Chief of Staff of the United States Army on this question. He ought to represent the official attitude. General Summerall said in his final report:

"The most serious danger to the continued prosperity of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps that has arisen in recent years lies in the effect of the decision of the Secretary of the Interior, sustained by the opinion of the Attorney General, that military training is not compulsory in land-grant colleges under the Morrill Act."

Mr. President, on page 2278 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 15 will be found the opinion of the Attorney

General of the United States on this particular subject of military training in land-grant colleges.

When this amendment was voted on in the House on the 15th of January a division was called for, and the RECORD shows that the yeas were 50 and the nays were 162. That is, 50 Members of the House who were present on the floor voted for this amendment. There was not a record vote, and I think I am correct in saying that in neither branch of the United States Congress has there ever been a record vote on this subject of compulsory military training. Why? I will explain why.

The Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] here, and a number of others, probably would not want to go on record as voting either for or against compulsory military training in this bill because of the political influence that it might have at home; and I presume that the Senator from Ohio [Mr. FESS]—I am sorry he was not here when I read from the statement of the president of Antioch College, of his State, because it was a mighty good statement—would not want to vote either for or against compulsory military training in this bill.

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from North Dakota yield to the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. FRAZIER. I shall be glad to yield.

Mr. FESS. I have always believed in military training, but I never have been an advocate of compulsory military training; and if the proposal was that we were to enter on compulsory military training as a policy I should vote against it.

Mr. FRAZIER. The Senator means universal compulsory military training?

Mr. FESS. Yes.

Mr. FRAZIER. I think almost everyone in the Senate would do that.

Mr. FESS. As I have often stated, I think military training is a splendid thing for every young man, a very good thing; but as to universal military training, I should not be inclined to vote for it. I do not hesitate at all to vote, as a matter of record, not only on this but on any other subject that is presented to the Senate.

Mr. FRAZIER. I hope the Senator will help me get a record vote on this amendment.

Mr. FESS. I will; and I will vote against the Senator's amendment.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FRAZIER. I shall be glad to yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I shall be delighted to aid the Senator in getting a record vote.

Mr. FRAZIER. I thank the Senator from Michigan, too. I will say to the Senator from Ohio that he disagrees with many of his former colleagues in educational work in his attitude on military training, because educational organizations time after time, and great, outstanding educators in the United States and in other countries have taken an emphatic stand against compulsory military training.

Mr. FESS. That is true, Mr. President.

The Senator a moment ago mentioned Antioch. President Arthur Morgan is one of the outstanding, forward-looking men in America, and he is doing a wonderful work in a new experiment there at Antioch; but I do not agree with him on a great many things, and this is one of the things on which I would not go along with him as far as he goes.

Mr. FRAZIER. Mr. President, there are some people who are naturally what might be termed old-fashioned. They believe in military training because we have had compulsory military training a great number of years in our colleges, land-grant colleges especially. The Army itself believes in the cavalry because they have always had cavalry; it has been one of the popular divisions of the Army, and they still believe in cavalry forces. Early in the past fall I visited one of the large military posts in one of the Southern States, spent a couple of hours there going around with

the general in command, and was quite interested in seeing the developments and in learning what they expected to do.

When we came by the corral and yards where the horses were kept I asked the general his opinion as to the use of horses under the existing so-called scientific methods of warfare. He said, "Well, I am not in favor of horses. In fact, I requested that we should not have horses here in this post, that we should use tractors, tanks, trucks, and so forth. But they had the horses, they sent them down here, and, of course, we have to use them."

I questioned him further, and he said, "In my opinion, the tractors and tanks and trucks and automobiles will answer every purpose in our Army that horses can answer. Tractors will go many places where horses can not go."

Mr. REED. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FRAZIER. Gladly.

Mr. REED. Did the Senator ever try to take a tractor through a wood?

Mr. FRAZIER. Tanks went through the woods pretty well, unless they were thick woods, and even horses do not go through very thick woods.

Mr. REED. On the contrary, the tanks had to go around the woods.

Mr. FRAZIER. It depends on the woods. A tank will go over a pretty good sized tree. Of course, if the woods are thick, horses will not go through either. Furthermore, horses become practically unmanageable under fire, especially where there are bombs and shrapnel flying, while tanks are protected, and the men in the tanks will go right along and accomplish a great deal more than a whole squadron of cavalry could possibly accomplish.

One criticism of our Army, as well as of our Navy, is that they are so inclined to follow some old precedent. They do not want to change. They do not want to get away from the old methods of doing business. That is true of a great many people who are not in the Army, of course.

Practically every effort at reform has been fought by many good people in various walks of life, and I suppose that will always be the case. Yet the reforms have come about, and after they have been tried out have generally been conceded to be very good for all concerned, and I am sure the great educators throughout this Nation who have thought upon this matter—and most of them, I presume, have—those who teach in colleges and universities and schools where there is not military training, are convinced, I think practically a hundred per cent, that in our civil colleges and universities and high schools in the United States compulsory military training is absolutely out of place and un-American.

Of course, in this particular instance, if this amendment could be adopted, it would not cut down the amount of the appropriation materially. Probably twelve or fifteen million dollars is spent in this way by the United States War Department. That is only a small item in the bill. The total amount carried in the bill is \$446,518,000. That, together with the amount carried in the Navy appropriation bill, about a like amount, makes an immense appropriation for Army and Navy purposes in peace times.

The two appropriations amount to over \$2,000,000 a day for the whole year, and \$2,000,000 is a lot of money in these hard times. The appropriations in these two bills this year will amount to over \$1,400 for each minute, day and night, for the year. That is what we pay for Army and Navy purposes, and that in face of the fact that time after time as a Government we have gone on record for disarmament, for cutting down our military forces and our naval forces. We have gone on record for the so-called Kellogg peace pact for the outlawing of war. Yet we are appropriating more money, in the Army appropriation bill and in the Navy appropriation bill, which will come here shortly, than we have ever appropriated in any one year in peace time in the history of the United States.

Of course, these appropriations provide employment for a lot of men, it is true. The Army bill will provide, I think, for the employment of somewhere around a couple of million

men and boys, in one way or another, and I presume there is some argument in that. Yet it seems to me that there might be a great deal better use to which a large portion of that money might be put than in appropriations for the Army and the Navy.

Mr. President, I do not know whether there is any hope of getting favorable action on an amendment of this kind or not, but I do think that the public sentiment throughout the Nation is rapidly growing in favor of doing away with compulsory military training in our colleges and universities. I know that in my own State a great deal of interest has been manifested along that line, and the women's clubs of the State practically compelled our State board of administration to act upon the subject of compulsory military training in our State agricultural college and State university. There was a vote on it, and, with five members on the board, the vote was 3 to 2 in favor of the military training.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. FRAZIER. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Is not that precisely the place where such authority should properly be exercised, if it is to be exercised? In other words, if the Senator will permit me to amplify my question, as I understand it, the choice of the land-grant colleges to-day as between compulsory and elective military training resides in each individual college itself, and the purpose of the Senator is to inflict from Washington a stricture upon the freedom with which the managements of these individual land-grant colleges can proceed in their own good judgment in the management of their institutions. Is that correct?

Mr. FRAZIER. Mr. President, I was coming to that. The statement is partially correct; I will not say it is fully correct, however. I was going to give the excuse a majority of our State board gave for voting for the compulsory military training in our State agricultural college and State university. It was in substance that it was hard enough to get appropriations through the State legislature for new buildings and general equipment to pay for the running of the university and the agricultural college without having to put in a complete gymnasium equipment, which would be necessary if they did not have this compulsory military training. As it is, the military training, they stated, takes the place of the gymnasium course which would be necessary to give the boys physical training necessary for their development and health. That was the reason they assigned for the compulsory feature in our law. I understand that that is the excuse which has been used by practically every board having control of a land-grant college in the United States.

The fact is that the War Department has practically forced the State boards to make military training compulsory in order to get this money. That is the situation.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, will the Senator tell us what the War Department has done to make it compulsory?

Mr. FRAZIER. O Mr. President, in the first place, it was compulsory under the law, as the Senator knows. I read an extract from it a short time ago. After public sentiment had become aroused the compulsory feature was stricken out of the land-grant college law. However, the general opinion was that it was compulsory. I myself thought the military training in the land-grant colleges was compulsory, under the War Department, until after I came to the United States Senate. I am frank to admit that. I presume many others here felt the same way about it.

I never knew better until after I introduced a bill in the Senate against compulsory military training in land-grant colleges one of the first years I was in the Senate. I found out then that the decision as to the compulsory feature resided in the State board in my State instead of in the War Department. I never knew it until that time. Then I began to study the matter, and I found out why it was that the training was made compulsory by our various State boards. The conclusion to which I came was as I have expressed it, that in order to get the money, which takes the place of another department at the university or college,

they have to make the training compulsory. Just as I quoted from Representative COLLINS, in a college out in the State of California which had compulsory military training the boys objected to it and their parents objected to it, so the president announced that as soon as they could make a satisfactory arrangement they would make the course in military training elective instead of compulsory. What did the War Department do? The War Department immediately cut that school out of their military-training appropriation—as a shining example, I suppose, of what would happen to any other institution if the compulsory military-training feature were cut out.

Some of the large institutions, like the University of Wisconsin, Yale, Harvard, and other institutions of that kind, where there is a large number in attendance, can have an elective course. They have enough so they can have an elective course in military training. But the small institutions, such as we have in North Dakota and practically throughout the Western and Northwestern States, if the course were made elective, in my opinion, would not get enough boys to take the military-training course to make a corporal's guard. The War Department knows that, and they make the training practically compulsory. Of course, they sugarcoat it, as was stated by one of the gentlemen from whom I quoted awhile ago. They sugarcoat the situation and try to make it as pleasant as possible. They cut out the bayonet drill, and they furnish uniforms. When I went to the university we did not get uniforms free. I bought my own uniform. Some of the boys could not scrape up enough money to buy uniforms and never got uniforms. They drilled for the two years' time in their civilian clothes. I bought a uniform because I thought it was cheaper than civilian clothes. I got enough money ahead to pay for it and got the uniform, which was very serviceable. I wore it even after I got through with the military drills, because it saved my buying another suit.

The military course is made as attractive as possible in every way. The boys in the colleges who take the additional two years after they have finished their junior and senior years, after they have taken the so-called preliminary work in the Reserve Officers' Training Corps are given so much a day—I think about 39 cents a day, or something like that, although I have forgotten the exact figures—each day in the year when they drill.

They are given a uniform and they are given training in a military training camp, the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, which is very attractive to them. They have military dances and all that kind of thing. They have good times. I have a boy attending Maryland State Agricultural College. He is in the Reserve Officers' Training Corps. After a 2-year course he was successful in getting an appointment as an officer. I was a little surprised the other day to see in one of our North Dakota papers a statement from the Third Corps Area that this boy of mine is to be at the head of the committee having in charge the military ball which is to take place in the near future at the college.

As I said, I have no objection to boys taking military training if they want to do so, but I do object to the compulsory part of it. I think it will be found that at least 90 per cent of the boys when they enter college, if they have a chance to state their opinion upon it, will say they are opposed to compulsory military training; and yet we continue to have compulsory military training in all of our land-grant colleges except one in the United States, and have had since they started away back in 1862 or 1863.

So, Mr. President, it seems to me it is time the compulsory feature should be cut out of our educational work in our so-called civil colleges. I have no objection to compulsory military training in so-called military schools. Then if parents want to send their boys to a military school, all well and good. I have no objection to an elective course in our civil schools and colleges. Then if a boy wants to take that course he is entitled to do so, but if he does not he is entitled to get his diploma or degree without being compelled to take two years of compulsory military training.

Mr. President, I would like very much to have a roll call on my amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Let us have the yeas and nays.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Fess	Kendrick	Schall
Barkley	Fletcher	Keyes	Sheppard
Bingham	Frazier	King	Shipstead
Black	George	La Follette	Shortridge
Blaine	Gillett	McGill	Smith
Blease	Glass	McKellar	Stelwer
Borah	Glenn	McMaster	Stephens
Bratton	Goff	McNary	Swanson
Brook	Goldsborough	Metcalf	Thomas, Idaho
Brookhart	Gould	Morrison	Thomas, Okla.
Broussard	Hale	Morrow	Townsend
Bulkley	Harris	Moses	Trammell
Capper	Harrison	Norbeck	Tydings
Caraway	Hatfield	Norris	Vandenberg
Carey	Hawes	Nye	Wagner
Connally	Hayden	Oddie	Walcott
Copeland	Hebert	Partridge	Walsh, Mass.
Couzens	Heflin	Phipps	Walsh, Mont.
Cutting	Howell	Pine	Watson
Dale	Johnson	Ransdell	Williamson
Davis	Jones	Reed	
Dill	Kean	Robinson, Ark.	

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-six Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, the pending amendment is one proposed by the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. FRAZIER]. Its effect would be to refuse the use of any fund appropriated in this bill "toward the support of any compulsory course or military training in any civil school or college, or for the pay of any officer, enlisted man, or employee at any civil school or college where a military course or military training is compulsory."

The situation is this: At the present time the War Department and the Federal Government do not in any way compel military training in any school or college. Every school and every college has the option either to have no military training at all or to have elective military training or to have compulsory military training. That decision is made by the authorities governing each college and not by the War Department.

Mr. FRAZIER. Mr. President—

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Pennsylvania yield to the Senator from North Dakota?

Mr. REED. In just a moment I shall be glad to yield.

The position of the War Department was stated in this way in the House hearings:

It is a matter entirely with the institution. An institution would not receive Government aid in any way nor would an R. O. T. C. unit be established in an institution unless they voluntarily came to us and asked that we carry on military instruction at their institution. The War Department does not enter into the question of compulsory instruction. We do not even suggest it to institutions.

The effect of the Senator's amendment would be to deprive the local authorities of these schools of the freedom of choice which they now have and would force upon them from Washington the decision that elective training was preferable to compulsory training.

Now I yield to the Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. FRAZIER. What the Senator said as to the attitude of the War Department I think is correct. However, I would like to ask the Senator if, in his opinion, a college with a few hundred students, such as we have in many instances out in the Northwest, would be able to get any money from the War Department if their course was elective instead of compulsory?

Mr. REED. It would depend entirely upon the number of students who elected to take the course. If a sufficient number elected to take it to make it worth while to keep officers and enlisted men there, undoubtedly they would get it just as the University of Wisconsin gets it. The University of Wisconsin is a land-grant college, but the authorities governing that university decided they wanted to make military instruction elective and not compulsive. Enough of the young men attending there elected to take the course so

as to justify the maintenance of a reserve officers' training camp there and as a consequence the War Department keeps officers at the University of Wisconsin and gives the training.

In the University of North Dakota and in the North Dakota Agricultural College the authorities governing those institutions decided by a 3 to 2 vote to continue making it compulsory. What the Senator from North Dakota is trying to do here is to set up his judgment as against the judgment of the authorities in his home State and to have us say that they were wrong and he is right in making that decision. I do not think we ought to do it, with all deference to the Senator.

Mr. FRAZIER. Mr. President—

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Pennsylvania yield further to the Senator from North Dakota?

Mr. REED. Certainly.

Mr. FRAZIER. The Senator is mistaken. I am not trying to set up my judgment against the majority of the members of that board at the time they voted upon the matter, but I do believe I am representing the big majority of the sentiment of the people of North Dakota when I propose the amendment.

Mr. REED. Why do not the governing authorities who control the two institutions follow the wishes of the people of North Dakota if that is the true situation?

Mr. FRAZIER. I explained that quite fully in my remarks, that the heads of the institutions, or a majority of them, feel that if they have compulsory military training they can get more money, so that they save their consciences in that way, and that it is advisable to make it compulsory to get this money so that the other money they get from the State legislature can be used for other purposes.

Mr. REED. All well and good; if they are not going to have enough young men in the Reserve officers' course to justify "getting the money," as the Senator phrases it, they will not get it under the Senator's amendment. What the Senator is doing, apparently, is to prevent such training at those colleges altogether, because he says not enough young men will elect to take it to justify the maintenance of the training there.

Mr. VANDENBERG and Mr. SWANSON addressed the Chair.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Pennsylvania yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. REED. I yield first to the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Michigan State College, for instance, is on a compulsory military training basis; it is a land-grant college, and it has elected, on its own responsibility, to be so organized. As a result of that organization, the entire educational effort and discipline and method of training in the institution dovetails into this system. We can not strike this out without striking down the whole interlocking disciplinary purpose of the institution; we can not change that without offending the judgment of the educators who operate the Michigan State College and who believe that through this system they produce better-rounded and better-equipped American citizens. The effect of the Senator's amendment, is it not true, would be to inject a Washington mandate into the councils of Michigan State College and force them to reorganize their entire system?

Mr. REED. Absolutely; and it would be just as indefensible to do that, in my judgment, as it would be for us to say to the University of Michigan, which has reached the other conclusion and has made military training elective, "You have got to make it compulsory." I think it would be wrong in either case for us here in Washington to try to dictate to those in charge of such institutions how they shall run their own business.

Mr. SWANSON and Mr. FRAZIER addressed the Chair.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Pennsylvania yield to the Senator from Virginia?

Mr. REED. I yield the floor.

Mr. FRAZIER. Mr. President, in regard to what the Senator from Michigan has stated, I want to say that the University of Michigan, as the Senator from Pennsylvania has said, makes the course in military training elective. The Agricultural College of Michigan, or the land-grant

college of that State, I think I am safe in saying, feels that in order to get its share of the money to run the institution it must make the course in military training compulsory so as to get funds from the War Department of the United States.

Mr. SWANSON. I should like to ask the Senator from Pennsylvania a question. We have in Virginia a military institution which is considered by us and by a great many others as second only to West Point. The State government makes military training there compulsory; it secures officers detailed by the War Department. If this amendment were to be adopted it would be impossible for any officer to be detailed to the Virginia Military Institute, would it not?

Mr. REED. No, Mr. President; I do not think that is so, because the amendment does not apply to strictly military schools or colleges.

Mr. SWANSON. How would it be in connection with the Agricultural College of Virginia?

Mr. REED. The amendment would require that institution to make the course elective or to abolish it altogether.

Mr. SWANSON. That is, it could not be made compulsory?

Mr. REED. That is correct.

Mr. SWANSON. I attended the land-grant college in Virginia; military training was compulsory at that time; but under this amendment it would compel military training there to be elective, and the student could accept it or not as he pleased?

Mr. REED. Yes.

Mr. SWANSON. Consequently it would depend upon the student?

Mr. REED. If only a few of the students elected to take the course, it would not justify the Government in keeping officers and men there, and that would mean that nobody would get the benefit of it.

Mr. SWANSON. Under the present law, as I understand, if a sufficient number of students elect to take the course to justify the detailing of an officer as instructor, such officer is sent to them.

Mr. REED. The War Department does that if it can do so.

Mr. SWANSON. The department details an officer if it has a sufficient number of them.

Mr. REED. It is a question of money. We have not given them sufficient money to honor all the requests. There are about 115 educational institutions in the United States which have applied for the establishment of military training, which applications the War Department has not as yet been able to grant, simply because of the shortage of appropriations. There are 115 on the waiting list. The best we could do for them in this bill was to allow an increase so that 4 more schools out of the 115 might have military training as they desire.

Mr. CARAWAY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Pennsylvania yield to the Senator from Arkansas?

Mr. REED. I yield.

Mr. CARAWAY. If the course becomes elective, it might at any time be abolished?

Mr. REED. Yes; because a sufficient number of students might not take it.

Mr. CARAWAY. The students could practically walk out on it?

Mr. REED. Yes; pretty nearly so.

Mr. CARAWAY. Let me ask the Senator another question. I regret to learn that there are 115 educational institutions which have applied to inaugurate courses in military training and that only 4 of them will get it. What dictates that policy?

Mr. REED. Simply the amount of money that Congress gives for the establishment of such courses.

Mr. CARAWAY. Then, how is the selection made as between the schools which apply?

Mr. REED. Probably in rotation, according to the length of time they have been applicants. Of course, there has got to be some discrimination.

Mr. CARAWAY. I understand. If the Senator will pardon me further, I have observed, strange as it may sound, that when a uniform is put on a boy he much more readily observes the disciplinary requirements of the institutions; he has a pride in the uniform; and, if we are to have military training at all, could there be any better time to give it to a boy than while he is at school?

Mr. REED. I think it is the very best time.

Mr. CARAWAY. It is better for him physically and mentally and makes him more regardful of regulations and authority.

Mr. REED. And also of the rights of others.

Mr. CARAWAY. Yes.

Mr. FRAZIER. Mr. President, I want to say in connection with what the Senator from Virginia has said that the last clause of this amendment provides that—

But nothing herein shall be construed as applying to essentially military schools or colleges.

I want to say in regard to the statement of the Senator from Pennsylvania that 115 schools are applicants to have military training inaugurated and that the War Department can not grant the requests because of lack of funds, that the 115 schools which are asking for military courses to be instituted are doing so because they are short of funds in these hard times and want to get some Government money.

Mr. BLAINE. Mr. President, it is not my intention to detain the Senate on this question. I understood the Senator from Pennsylvania to state that the University of Wisconsin has made military training elective through the governing board of the university.

Mr. REED. That is correct.

Mr. BLAINE. I merely wanted to correct the Senator's statement in one respect, although it may not be very material. The Legislature of Wisconsin made the Reserve Officers' Training Corps elective—that is, made military training elective—instead of compulsory; so that the action of the board of regents of the university is merely carrying out the mandate of the legislative act.

Mr. McMASTER. Mr. President, will the Senator permit an interruption?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from South Dakota?

Mr. BLAINE. I yield.

Mr. McMASTER. In view of the fact that the State of Wisconsin adopted legislation in reference to that matter, would it not be the wiser policy to let all of the States adopt the same legislation if they are opposed to compulsory military training?

Mr. BLAINE. Mr. President, I sent to my office a while ago for files on this question. The documents I desired go to the proposition of whether or not a school where military training is elective is entitled to receive Federal aid in the operation of a Reserve Officers' Training Corps. There are those who very emphatically contend that the act of the legislature or the act of a governing board would not be effective; that is, if the legislature prevented the compulsory feature or the administrative board of the university or college outlawed the compulsory feature that university or college would not be entitled to Federal aid if that question were ever raised. I understand that there is a group of educators who have come to the conclusion that a school which has made military training elective will be barred from receiving whatever aid may come under the provisions of the Federal law.

I do not know what the holding may be; yet we may confront that very situation, and if the amendment offered by the Senator from North Dakota were adopted, then these schools that have elective military training courses are protected.

I see no harm that could come from the adoption of the Senator's amendment. The local self-rule is preserved. The result will be the free act of the managing body of the land-grant school or college or of the legislature of the State in which the schools are located, assuming the educators, to whom I have referred, views are correct.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. REED and Mr. VANDENBERG demanded the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Chief Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. SWANSON (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Colorado [Mr. WATERMAN]. I am informed that he would vote as I intend to vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. THOMAS of Idaho (when his name was called). I have a pair with the junior Senator from Montana [Mr. WHEELER] and therefore withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. HARRISON. On this question I am paired with the senior Senator from Delaware [Mr. HASTINGS]. If at liberty to vote, I should vote "nay."

Mr. GILLETT. I have a general pair with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SIMMONS], which I transfer to the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DENEEN], and will vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. WATSON (after having voted in the negative). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH]. In his absence I transfer that pair to the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. DAVIS] and will permit my vote to stand.

Mr. FESS. I have been requested to announce the following general pairs:

The Senator from Missouri [Mr. PATTERSON] with the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER]; and

The Senator from Indiana [Mr. ROBINSON] with the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STEPHENS].

The result was announced—yeas 7, nays 62, as follows:

YEAS—7			
Blaine	Frazier	La Follette	Nye
Brookhart	Heflin	Norris	
NAYS—62			
Ashurst	Fess	Keyes	Schall
Barkley	Fletcher	McGill	Sheppard
Bingham	George	McKellar	Shortridge
Black	Gillett	McMaster	Stelwer
Blease	Glass	McNary	Swanson
Bratton	Glenn	Metcalf	Thomas, Okla.
Brock	Goff	Morrison	Townsend
Broussard	Gould	Morrow	Trammell
Bulkley	Hale	Moses	Tydings
Capper	Harris	Norbeck	Vandenberg
Caraway	Hatfield	Oddie	Walcott
Carey	Hayden	Partridge	Walsh, Mont.
Connally	Johnson	Phipps	Watson
Copeland	Jones	Ransdell	Williamson
Couzens	Kean	Reed	
Dale	Kendrick	Robinson, Ark.	
NOT VOTING—27			
Borah	Hastings	Pittman	Stephens
Cutting	Hawes	Robinson, Ind.	Thomas, Idaho
Davis	Hebert	Shipstead	Wagner
Deneen	Howell	Simmons	Walsh, Mass.
Dill	King	Smith	Waterman
Goldsborough	Patterson	Smoot	Wheeler
Harrison	Pine	Steck	

So Mr. FRAZIER's amendment was rejected.

EXPENSES OF SENATORIAL INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE

Mr. NYE. Mr. President, I rise to remark upon the unanimous consent that was granted this afternoon upon the occasion of the presentation by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. MOSES] of a statement of the expenditures made by the Senate committee investigating into campaign expenditures.

I have tried within the last hour, and I hope with some success, to subdue the spirit which first seized upon me when I knew of the very extraordinary practice that had been resorted to by the Senator from New Hampshire. As I say, I hope I have succeeded.

I do not want to speak at any great length; but I do want to show, if I can, the probable intent behind the move made by the Senator in asking unanimous consent to have incorporated in the RECORD an account, as filed with the disbursing officer of the Senate, by myself and those agents serving with me in the administration of the money which the Senate saw fit to appropriate to this committee for the conduct of its work.

I can see, Mr. President, these pages from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in the pocket of every political foe in North Dakota next year, when I shall be seeking reelection; and I can hear tongues wagging and I can see lips moving in whispers, pointing out some little item in this account showing how lavishly NYE lives when he is out on Government expense, showing how liberally he tips when he is out on Government expense, showing what extraordinary and lavish accommodations he insists upon having at hotels when he is out at Government expense. Look at this item—a meal costing \$12, or some such matter—and I know what the result will be.

For the last number of days, Mr. President, I have heard whisperings around this Chamber on the part of Members of this body, prophesying what was coming. I know that the whisperings have been that this was going to be done for the very purpose I have suggested here this afternoon, namely, to give people who might be so inclined to use it a chance to cast reflections upon the manner in which the funds of the committee have been disbursed.

Mr. President, since this accounting goes into the RECORD, I must have some explanation appear with it that I hope will be read in conjunction with the statement itself. The disbursing officer wished upon the committee, as he has wished upon other committees, the arrangement whereby he would set aside a fund that could be drawn upon by the committee, and an accounting made after that fund was utilized. This was done, as I understand, because it would save the disbursing office a great deal of labor in the preparation and payment of vouchers. That has been done in the case of this committee; and because it has been done in the case of this committee we have drawn upon that account for such things as the expense accounts incurred by agents in the field, agents of the committee, or members of the committee themselves.

This report that appears now in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will reveal in a general way those expenditures charged to me as chairman of the committee. Oh, it is true that if people study closely the account, they will find what the true expenditure was for; but here are items totaling \$1,500, \$1,800, and \$2,000. Indirectly, they are charged to the chairman of the committee.

I find, for example, the report to show what the result will be in minds deprived of the whole fact. Under date of December 31 a voucher was entered to account for \$4,259.18 which was drawn on the special account deposited by the disbursing officer, drawn by my brother, who, with others, has been in charge of the payment of expenses of agents in the field; and down here we find:

Paid to Senator NYE, chairman, for reimbursement of expenses incurred by self, Senator DALE, and Senator DILL and their assistants from November 10 to December 22 in Illinois, Colorado, Nebraska, Tennessee, and New York, as follows:

Subsistence, \$12.20.
Telephone and telegrams, \$249.55.
Taxi fares and portage, \$61.75.
Special expert assistant, \$55.

Mr. President, very clearly that is a transposition on the part of the printer. I carried this into the disbursing office a moment ago, and there it was revealed that the subsistence should have been \$249, and the telephone and telegrams \$12.20, instead of the other way around, as it will be made to appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; and I am advised by the disbursing office that there has not been even an opportunity afforded them in there to make any check at all on the report that has now been placed in type.

This goes into the RECORD in this form, and I shall insist that it go in in that form, because it further reveals the intent and the desire of certain individuals to see that this committee, or the chairman of it, is put at a disadvantage and put in an unfavorable light with a cloud over him in regard to the manner in which expenditures were made. "How could he possibly have spent so much for telegrams and telephones?" malicious ones will ask.

Mr. President, it is my understanding that never before in the history of the Senate has a committee or the chairman of a committee had to submit to a situation of this

kind. I think I understand what underlies it, what is back of it all. I am ready to submit, Mr. President, to whatever consequence may grow out of this. I am glad to have revealed to anyone and to everyone just the manner in which every dollar of the money the Senate has seen fit to give us has been spent by me or those serving under me; yet I am at a loss to understand why the committee should not be left to give the accounting in the same manner that other committees give accounting.

Every penny that a Senate committee expends is accounted for in annual reports submitted to this body by the Secretary of the Senate. Why this desire to place this one committee's expenditures in the RECORD for public scrutiny when others are not dealt with in the same manner?

Mr. Pace, the disbursing officer, has been good enough to tell me and to tell others during this day that in all of his career there in the disbursing office he has never known a committee to be so thorough and so right in its accounting as the Senate investigating committee has been.

Mr. President, there are a great many things that might be done in retaliation for the spirit which prompts the sort of action which has been taken here this afternoon. Ordinarily I ought to have voiced objection to this account being incorporated in the RECORD, to have refused unanimous consent for that purpose. I could not have done it without bringing suspicion upon myself. I am glad to have the report in the RECORD, but I do object to the motive which places it there.

I hope Senators will study it, and I hope, above all else, the people in my own State, who are the ones intended to receive and make use of this report, are going to weigh the facts and are going to know the motive which in all probability prompted the inclusion of this particular thing in the RECORD, a practice which has not been indulged in in times past and which I do not expect will ever be indulged in again by anyone in the Senate.

Mr. MOSES. Mr. President, the Senator from North Dakota having expressed his gratification that the itemized statement of expenditures by his committee is to be printed in the RECORD, the matter might be disposed of with that statement but for the fact that the Senator seeks to explain the motive behind the publication of the items. The Senator from New Hampshire is quite competent to explain his own motives, and I will do so now.

The fact is, Mr. President, that when the additional \$50,000 was allotted to the special committee by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate it was stipulated expressly that two things should be done: First, that a date for the termination of the committee's activities should be set; and second, that an itemized account of the expenditures theretofore made by the committee should be provided. That not having been forthcoming, and this account coming into my hands, I offered it for printing in the RECORD, without any regard to the future ambitions of the Senator from North Dakota or for any other purpose than to see that the desires of the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate were carried out.

Mr. NYE. Mr. President, I am now forced to ask the Senator from New Hampshire if he is maintaining that there has been any difficulty on the part of the disbursing officer or the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate to obtain itemized accounts from the special committee of its expenditures?

Mr. MOSES. I can not answer; I do not know. I have stated the facts as I do know them. There are members of the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate on the floor who can corroborate or refute my statement.

Mr. NYE. What is the meaning of the Senator, then, in insisting that there was need for this action to-day?

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. NYE. I yield.

Mr. FESS. At the first meeting of the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, when the matter was presented for the extension of the committee's work and the additional appropri-

tion of \$50,000, I was not present, and no action was taken. I was asked by the chairman of the committee if I would not attend a meeting, and it was stated that the Senator from North Dakota, the chairman of the special committee, had a feeling that we were deferring action from time to time, and that he had announced that he would make a motion to discharge the committee from further consideration of the matter.

I attended a meeting of the committee in the afternoon, going from a session of the Senate, which is not my custom, and to the committee I made the statement that I would not be in favor of voting an extension of time, or voting the additional amount required, until we had had a statement of the expenditures up to date; and that was a reasonable request. I was told by the chairman of the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate that it would take three days to secure that itemized account, and upon the promise that we would have it, I waived any further objection and voted to extend the time and to make the appropriation.

Mr. NYE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FESS. I yield.

Mr. NYE. Was the delay occasioned by any failure on the part of the committee?

Mr. FESS. No.

Mr. NYE. Or the chairman of the committee?

Mr. FESS. No.

Mr. NYE. Or the inability of the disbursing officer to prepare the statement in that short time?

Mr. FESS. I do not think there was any cause of complaint against the committee or the disbursing clerk. My only concern was that this was asking for rather a large amount and I wanted to know how far in expenditures the committee had gone, and made the simple request that I wanted a report.

Mr. NYE. To which the Senator was entitled.

Mr. FESS. I thought so. I then waived objection and allowed the resolution to be reported before the report of expenditures, on the assurance that it would take some days to get the report in.

Mr. NYE. I would like to inquire of the Senator from Ohio, who is a member of the committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, as to just what the method of operation of the committee is. Are the accounts of the various committees the property of the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses or are they the property of any Member of the Senate?

Mr. FESS. Of any Member of the Senate.

Mr. NYE. Has it been the practice to make public, before the annual report is revealed, the expenditures which are made by committees?

Mr. FESS. I do not know that that is the practice. I think the reason why this was made public was the statement by the Senator from Alabama that the special committee could do what he desired much more inexpensively than a regular committee. The Senator will recall that I was in the chair at the time the matter arose, and the Senator from New Hampshire made the request, and made it on the ground that the special committee was not less expensive than the standing committee.

Mr. NYE. However, the Senator from New Hampshire was prepared two or three days in advance of the raising of that question to debate with the Senator from Alabama about the same thing.

Mr. FESS. I do not know about that.

Mr. BLAINE. Mr. President, I would like to ask the Senator from North Dakota a question. There are one or two things which are not clear in my mind. As I understand, the practice of the committee, the usual practice of all committees, has been, where a cash account is set out, for the chairman to draw upon that cash account for the payment of all expenses of the committee's employees, for the payment of traveling expenses, expenses for hotels and meals, and all that sort of thing, of every member of the committee in attendance at some committee hearing.

Mr. NYE. That is the practice.

Mr. BLAINE. I understand the chairman of the committee presents to the disbursing officer a voucher covering all those respective expenditures, which are not the chairman's individual expenditures, but the expenditures—

Mr. NYE. For the entire party.

Mr. BLAINE. Of the entire committee. I would like to get some more information from the Senator. When the Senator presents his voucher for these expenditures for the members of the committee or its employees I assume he submits with that voucher the supporting evidence from the hotels as to the amount paid out, and all that sort of thing.

Mr. NYE. Certainly.

Mr. BLAINE. I want to ask the chairman if, in the submission of this expense account this afternoon to the Senate for the RECORD, those items and the supporting evidence showing for whom the expenditures were made are a part of the RECORD?

Mr. NYE. Mr. President, answering the Senator, I can only say that in a general way that has been done. Of course, there are not the vouchers from hotels accounted for here, but it is revealed, for example, that the chairman was compensated for expenses of the committee, and then it names members of the committee who were off on a given trip.

Mr. BLAINE. But does it give the respective amounts expended by the chairman in behalf of the members of the committee?

Mr. NYE. No, it does not; it can not, in many particulars. The Senator, who has done considerable of this work himself, knows full well that when off with other members of the committee, or those associated with the committee, he perhaps has paid an entire hotel bill, an entire dinner bill or lunch bill for the party, that on the Pullman car he has paid the meal charge for the entire party. Yet the charge in the record appears against him directly.

Mr. BLAINE. And paid the railroad transportation of members of the committee to their homes?

Mr. NYE. Just so.

Mr. BLAINE. Does the account submitted this afternoon show that fact?

Mr. NYE. In the matter of railroad ticket expenditures, yes; it reveals that it was paid "for the following members of the committee," naming those in the party.

Mr. BLAINE. It does not reveal all the facts with reference to the expenditures?

Mr. NYE. It can not possibly reveal all the facts.

Mr. BLAINE. Does it reveal all the facts set forth in the Senator's vouchers, presented to the disbursing officer, so that he might receive credit?

Mr. NYE. I think in all fairness it must be said that it does. However, there is available a statement of a hotel charge against the committee, revealing accommodations for various members of the committee. The individual bill for each member of the party is a matter of record, but not in this accounting which is asked printed in the RECORD.

Mr. BLAINE. Is that information set out?

Mr. NYE. No. In the account which has been incorporated in the RECORD here this afternoon an expenditure by Senator NYE of so much money for the entire party is revealed.

Mr. BLAINE. Then is not the record that is submitted only a part of the record, not showing all the facts which are in file with the disbursing officer?

Mr. NYE. Mr. President, in all fairness and in all frankness I think it ought to be said that the report sought to be printed in the RECORD is not fair to any member of the committee, least of all the chairman of the committee, and if a like accounting were to be printed for any committee functioning in the Senate the unfairness would exist in the same degree, because the supporting subvouchers, such as, for instance, the original hotel bills and other bills, are not submitted showing the expenditures in detail.

NOTICE OF CONTEST—SENATOR FROM ALABAMA

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, some of the Senators were not aware this morning, when I was discussing the resolu-

tion I had offered, just what steps I have taken regarding the contest. For some days I have been trying to get authority conferred upon the Nye committee, which represents the Senate, to impound the ballots in my State.

Some Senators suggested that they would like to support the proposition, but that I ought to file my notice of contest. On yesterday afternoon I did that, setting out that I proposed to show that money had been illegally used, that fraud and corruption had been practiced, that ballots had been counted contrary to the way they were cast, that intimidation and coercion had been resorted to, and setting forth other charges.

That step has been taken by me. I have complied with that suggestion, and now I am seeking to have the ballot boxes seized.

The Nye committee is already in Alabama, through its agents, and they are discovering valuable evidence there every day. They know, and I have told the Senate, that a number of the ballot boxes have already been opened contrary to law, and, as I have said before, I want the ballot boxes seized now. I do not want to wait until after the 4th of March.

Senators will agree with me that the Committee on Privileges and Elections will not do anything, it can not, until after the 4th of March. They are busy with their duties here, and I have until the 4th of March to file my contest, to set out the facts in detail. I want to procure this evidence which has been tampered with, the ballot boxes which are exposed, many of them already opened, perhaps a third of them, maybe more, in the State. I am seeking to have the special committee seize these boxes and turn them over to the Committee on Privileges and Elections at the proper time.

I submit that is a fair request. The agents of the Nye committee can go to Alabama and go before a Federal judge, make the proper affidavit, get the ballots, and have them, when the Senate adjourns on the 4th of March, so the Committee on Privileges and Elections can take the matter up. I submit that this matter ought to be disposed of, and that the committee should be permitted to seize the ballots at the earliest moment possible. I have explained the matter to the Senator from Michigan, and he did not know I had filed the notice of contest as I have indicated. I do not believe the Senator now would insist upon preventing me from having consideration of my resolution.

Mr. COUZENS. Mr. President—

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Alabama yield to the Senator from Michigan?

Mr. HEFLIN. I yield.

Mr. COUZENS. I explained to the Senator, after the discussion this morning on the subject, and said that I would not object to his resolution if it gave jurisdiction to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, which, in my judgment, is the proper committee to deal with the matter.

Mr. HEFLIN. I agree with the Senator as to the contest itself.

Mr. COUZENS. I do not think there should be any opposition to the matter being taken up by the Committee on Privileges and Elections. That is the only objection I had. I have a great deal of regard for the jurisdiction of committees, and I dislike the switching of resolutions and legislation from one committee to another, so as to get more favorable or less favorable consideration than a Senator thinks he would get before the regular committee. That is the only objection I have to it, and I still maintain the same objection.

Mr. HEFLIN. That objection to seizing the ballot boxes when the Nye committee is already getting the other testimony showing other important facts does not seem to me to be very sound. Why not take the ballot boxes and have them ready to turn over to the committee?

Mr. COUZENS. I have no objection if the Senator frames his resolution so that the employees now down there may in turn become the employees of the Committee on Privileges and Elections and seize the ballot boxes in the name of the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

Mr. HEFLIN. The resolution provides that the Nye committee shall seize the ballot boxes and, of course, will turn them over to the Committee on Privileges and Elections. I would like to get a vote on my resolution now.

Mr. COUZENS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. HEFLIN. Certainly.

Mr. COUZENS. The Senator has not changed his resolution since this morning and the purport of the talk I had with him at noon was that I would not object if the change was made, and I was even willing, if he desired it, to have the employees now down there, the employees of the Nye committee, transferred to the jurisdiction of the Committee on Privileges and Elections. I am going to oppose the transferring of one committee to another of resolutions and bills in order to take them from the committee which has regular jurisdiction over the subject matter.

Mr. HEFLIN. I understood the Senator to say this morning that if the Nye committee was going to turn the ballot boxes over to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, he would not object.

Mr. COUZENS. No; I did not say that.

Mr. HEFLIN. I do not see that there is very much difference in the Senator's position and mine. I am seeking to send down there and take charge of them, to be turned over to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, and the Senator wants the ballot boxes to go to that committee finally.

Mr. BRATTON. Mr. President—

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Alabama yield to the Senator from New Mexico?

Mr. HEFLIN. I yield.

Mr. BRATTON. Does the Senator from Alabama think that the Senate has jurisdiction now to pass a resolution authorizing the Committee on Privileges and Elections at this time, in advance of March 4, to seize the ballot boxes, impound their contents, and preserve them for future use?

Mr. HEFLIN. Why, certainly, when notice of the contest has been filed, as it has been filed.

Mr. BRATTON. I am merely suggesting that to the Senator as a possible solution; that is to say, that his resolution be amended to authorize the Committee on Privileges and Elections, through any means which it might adopt, to seize the ballot boxes promptly and preserve them and their contents; in other words, to substitute the Committee on Privileges and Elections for the special committee.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. President, will the Senator from New Mexico speak louder? We can not hear him over here.

Mr. HEFLIN. I can not see what good is to be accomplished by taking these agents out of the field who are already there, who have uncovered very valuable testimony down there already. Why should they be limited in their activities and the ballot boxes put beyond their reach when janitors have keys to the rooms where the ballot boxes are locked up?

Mr. MOSES. Mr. President, I can not see why the Senator should object to the Committee on Privileges and Elections having its agents do the work of impounding the evidence. I have not any doubt of their authority and jurisdiction whatever.

Mr. HEFLIN. Why take this particular work away from the Nye committee that is already investigating every other phase of the case through their agents in Alabama. We should all be anxious to get at the truth and find out if fraud and corruption have been practiced in a senatorial election in Alabama.

Mr. MOSES. Because the orderly fashion is to let the standing committee of the Senate, which has jurisdiction of this subject matter, proceed. Members of the Committee on Privileges and Elections will recall the episodes which we had to pass through in the case of the Pennsylvania contest and will remember the endless difficulties that arose because of the dual activities which were being carried on with the same set of documents and the same set of election paraphernalia. I think the Senator from New Mexico will recall

that we had many, many difficulties arising from that situation.

Mr. BRATTON. Yes; I recall that very distinctly. The observation which I was submitting at the time the leader of the majority [Mr. Watson] asked me to speak louder was that the desire of the Senator from Alabama is to secure immediate possession of the election returns, ballots, and so forth, and impound them for future use as evidence in the contest which he proposes to file. Ultimately the Committee on Privileges and Elections must determine that contest. The question which I addressed to the Senator from Alabama was whether he doubted the authority of the Senate to pass a resolution at this time conferring authority upon the Committee on Privileges and Elections to act immediately by seizing the evidence which he has in mind and impounding it.

If he thinks the Senate does have that jurisdiction, why not exercise it in that way so that one committee, the committee which must eventually determine the contest, will take charge of the evidence and preserve it just as the Senator desires? That was the question I propounded to the Senator from Alabama purely for purposes of information.

Mr. WATSON. May I inquire what is the time limit fixed by statute in Alabama in which this must be done or the ballots may be destroyed?

Mr. HEFLIN. Six months from the date of the election. I want to say to the Senate that every ballot box in Mobile County has already been opened, one of the biggest counties in the State. The officer in charge of them said he thought the law permitted him to open them.

Senators do not know what is going on down there and what has been going on. I think it is a terrible thing for a Senator who has served in this body for 10 years to have to stand here and beg his fellow Senators to see that fraud and corruption is put down in his State and that the ballots be exposed in order that we can get at the truth of the charges he has made that the election was stolen from him in his State. I think it is an outrage that there should be opposition to such a course.

I can not understand why, when the agents of the Nye committee can go and procure forged poll-tax receipts—they have them and they are in this Capitol—they can not go ahead and disclose other evidence. They have disclosed where those who did pay their poll tax were not certified as qualified voters. The testimony has already been found to show that in Walker County, Mr. Bankhead's own county, the managers of the election marked ballots for Bankhead in the left-hand corner of the ballot before it was handed to the voter, who went out and voted in the right-hand corner under the liberty bell, and when that ballot was finally taken out to be counted, the manager who helped to perpetrate that fraud said, "Look there, he has voted both tickets, therefore you can not count his ballot." And those ballots were put in an envelope and they marked on the envelope "Ballots rejected." They are in the ballot boxes, or ought to be.

I am seeking to get this evidence and disclose this fraud, to disclose this thievery, to prove that these criminals ought to be in the penitentiary for stealing an election where a candidate for the United States Senate was involved, and I am having difficulty with certain Senators to have the resolution seeking to do that considered. They are willing to go into a Republican State where a seat in the Senate is bought, but unwilling to go into a Democratic State where the party has been perverted from the ends of its institution and turned over to the liquorites and the Ras-kobites, where there was corrupt use of money to procure the election of a Senator to this body. I am seeking to show that condition.

All I am asking is to display the ballots, and there are already agents at work in Alabama securing that very kind of evidence, showing that captains of industry were intimidating their workers by the hundreds, showing that public officials in Alabama intimidated certain officials under them, showing that ballots were marked before they were

handed out, showing that poll-tax receipts were forged, showing that the courthouse at Jasper, Mr. Bankhead's home, was broken into the night before election, and the charge is made that they changed absentee ballots. They can do all that, but now the effort is made to stop them when the trail of fraud and corruption is shown to lead to the ballot box itself. When we say "There it is," we are told now, "You must stop and we will transfer that activity to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, that it may consider it some time."

Mr. President, I can not understand such tactics. I am sorry that this opposition has arisen here. It does not look well. Now, I trust that I may have immediate consideration of my resolution to take charge of these ballot boxes and turn them over to the Committee on Privileges and Elections. I ask unanimous consent that that may be done.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Alabama?

Mr. REED. Mr. President, may the request be stated?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Let the resolution be read for the information of the Senate.

The Chief Clerk read the resolution (S. Res. 426), as follows:

Resolved, That the special committee of the Senate to investigate campaign expenditures, created under authority of Senate Resolution 215, adopted April 10, 1930, is hereby further authorized and empowered, in the furtherance of the duties provided for in Senate Resolution 215, to take possession of ballots and ballot boxes, including poll lists, tabulation sheets, or any other records contained within said boxes as were used in the general election of November 4, 1930, in the State of Alabama, and to impound the same for examination and consideration by said committee or any other committee of the Senate which has jurisdiction of the subject matter of a contest for a seat in the Senate, when notice of a contest for a seat in the Senate, from the State of Alabama, has been filed.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, we ought to get the poll lists in Alabama as soon as possible. The resolution provides that the ballots be turned over to the Nye committee or any other committee that has jurisdiction, and that is what will be done.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Alabama?

Mr. MOSES. Mr. President, I have no intention of objecting to the consideration of the resolution. I had none this morning. The only thing I wanted to do was to offer my amendment, which is in the form of a substitute and which has already been read.

The suggestion has recently come to me—

Mr. BROOKHART. Mr. President—

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from New Hampshire yield to the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. MOSES. I yield.

Mr. BROOKHART. As I remember the resolution offered by the Senator from New Hampshire, it provided that the ballots should be seized only after a contest was filed. I think it ought to provide that they should be seized after notice of a contest has been filed.

Mr. MOSES. I am entirely willing to modify my amendment so it shall read when notice of the contest has been filed.

Mr. HEFLIN. Let me have a vote on my resolution.

Mr. MOSES. Under the orderly procedure my amendment should be voted on first.

The VICE PRESIDENT. If the Senator from New Hampshire offers his proposal as an amendment to the resolution of the Senator from Alabama, the vote would be had first on the amendment of the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President, I desire to send to the desk and have read a telegram just received from the sheriff of Walker County, Ala.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the senior Senator from Alabama yield for that purpose?

Mr. HEFLIN. Yes; I yield for that purpose. I want a chance to reply to it.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will read, as requested.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

JASPER, ALA., January 29, 1931.

Senator HUGO BLACK:

Fifty-eight ballot boxes in Walker County. Election November 4. Final count November 7. Eight precincts dropped all returns in ballot boxes. On final count boxes opened by sheriff, probate judge, circuit clerk to ascertain correct returns from tally sheet inside. No boxes were opened until all candidates had notice and representatives of every party present and agreed. Boxes now being preserved.

A. N. BARRENTINE,
Sheriff Walker County, Ala.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President, I send to the desk and ask to have read an Associated Press dispatch which has just come from Alabama.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the senior Senator from Alabama yield for that purpose?

Mr. HEFLIN. Yes, sir. The telegram just read was worse than I thought it could be.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the clerk will read.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

MONTGOMERY, ALA., January 29.—The Alabama House of Representatives to-day adopted a joint resolution expressing its condemnation of the "very poor sportsmanship exhibited" by Senator J. THOMAS HEFLIN "in being unwilling to admit like a man that he was defeated in a fair election."

The resolution was adopted by a vote of 91 to 3.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, that last statement reminds me of the fellow who was indicted for stealing a fat ox. When he was tried he was acquitted, and his friends asked him how he accounted for the verdict of acquittal. His reply was, "all 12 of the jurors got some of the beef." [Laughter.] Indeed, those legislators do not want any ballot boxes gone into in Alabama. They "got some of the beef." [Laughter.] Ballots were stolen for them in some instances. Take the senatorial district in which I live. The "count" showed Hooten elected by 6 votes. I believe, and I am certain that Doctor Hunt beat him by from 1,000 to 1,500 votes. There are many other instances that I could cite.

My colleague, disturbed and ill at ease, in order to bolster his position, has read here a report from the lower house of the legislature saying that my "sportsmanship" is not good. I pray God that my political sportsmanship may never be good, if it takes approval of fraud and corruption in elections and the stealing of the ballots of the patriotic men and women of my State to make it good.

I do not care how humble these men and women are; they may not live in costly mansions; they may dwell in humble habitations far out in the rural districts and may be suffering, some of them for the necessities of life, but they are as brave and fine specimens of Anglo-Saxon race as will be found in all the confines of America. I am fighting for them and their children, I want them to have the privilege of going undisturbed to the ballot box, and there cast their votes as they desire to vote, and to have their votes counted as cast. That is what I am fighting for. I am fighting for clean and fair elections in Alabama.

There are men in that legislature who voted for the resolution cited in the dispatch just read who would come out of there if the fraud and corruption in their elections could be exposed. They are afraid that if we go into the ballot boxes to see who was elected to the Senate from Alabama it might be found out who was not elected to the State legislature; and they are undergoing great suffering because of my bad sportsmanship. How I do hate that! [Laughter.]

Mr. President, it seems to me it would be more becoming in that legislature to adopt a resolution saying, "We invite an investigation of the election in Alabama; we want the ballot boxes gone into in our counties, and let the truth be made known." They do not do that, but they send a statement here to my colleague, who in his distress is grabbing at every straw statement that floats within his reach, and he rises to have it read in the Senate.

Mr. President, no man can afford to stand up in this body and fight the investigation of fraud and corruption in his State as my colleague is doing. I have asked him on this

floor, and I ask him again, if he is willing for me to have consideration of my resolution by this body, to have a vote on my resolution by this body—on my resolution, not on a substitute for it—and he will not tell the Senate whether he is in favor of it or not.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Alabama yield to his colleague?

Mr. HEFLIN. Yes; I yield.

Mr. BLACK. What is the question the Senator asks?

Mr. HEFLIN. I ask the Senator to tell the Senate whether he is in favor of the ballot boxes in Alabama being seized. Since I have filed notice of a contest, and charged that fraud and corruption were practiced, and that the ballots in those boxes will disclose fraud and corruption, is the Senator willing for me, under my resolution, to have those ballot boxes seized and held and turned over to the Committee on Privileges and Elections finally, to be considered when the contest in detail is laid out before them?

Mr. BLACK. I will state to the Senator, as I stated this morning, that I favor the investigation of any case where there is a prima facie fraud made out. I have no objection to a legal, orderly investigation of the ballot boxes; but I will say to the Senator further that, with a recollection of the slimy trail of reconstruction, I do not subscribe, in whole or in part, to the idea that the hand of the Federal Government may be extended into the sovereign State of Alabama and carry on an investigation to see whether or not the members of the legislature are properly occupying their seats, as the Senator has just indicated he wants done.

Mr. HEFLIN. No; I did nothing of the kind—

Mr. BLACK. I deny the right of the Federal Government to go down into the State of Alabama, sir, and tell the people who shall vote or who shall not vote. We had entirely too much of that in the days when the carpet-bagger and the scalawag were running the State. I do not favor, sir, the extension by one inch or one particle of an inch of the rights of the Federal Government to enable it to invade the sacred rights of franchise in the Southern States of this Union or in any other States of this Union. I am opposed, body, soul, mind, and spirit, to any additional step which gives the Federal Government the right to go into my State; and I resent any effort on the part of any man, wherever he may be from, who takes the position that my State, the State of Alabama, can not run its affairs without having the strong hand of the Federal Government intervene. That is my position.

In so far as an investigation is concerned, by the due and orderly committees of the Senate, I have no objection, although I am frank to state that if I had been defeated in 57 counties of the State, according to the record, out of 67, I would not have thought it possible that there could be such wholesale fraud and corruption among the citizens of my State, with whom I have lived and whom I feel honored to serve, and that in 57 counties there were so many thieves and so many crooks that 57 counties could be taken away from me in that manner. I am frank to say that I could not have done that. I would rather have taken my chance and let the people of this country know that I come from a State of honorable men and women, where the people of 57 counties can not be accused by the wholesale of fraud and dishonesty and corruption. I would rather take my place among those who believe that among the 91 members of the legislature they were not all crooked and dishonest. I would not take the position that 91 men, seemingly included, were the beneficiaries of stolen fruits; and especially, I would not take that position when I know that in a majority of instances they received their election without opposition on November 4, and that, in many instances, they received their nomination without opposition.

But let my position be clear: I am in favor of an orderly investigation of any ballot boxes where it is claimed there is fraud. I am not, however, going, by my vote, to extend one particle the authority which has been already exercised by the Federal Government to invade the sacred precincts of my State and the other States of this Union to attempt to

make them again provinces, as they were made in reconstruction days. I prefer, sir, to take my place among those who believe that the people of Alabama and the people of the other States are capable of managing their own affairs fairly, in justice, in honor, and in integrity; and, so far as I am concerned, I do not want any man to be elected in my State, or anywhere else, by fraud or corruption.

I am willing for the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections, as was stated, to take charge of the ballot boxes whenever it is due and orderly for it to be done; but I do not appreciate it, and I am not willing to go far enough to invite people to come into my State on the assumption, as this contest assumes, that in 67 counties of Alabama there was such wholesale fraud and corruption as to make a change of 150,000 out of 250,000 votes. If the vote, according to the returns, showed—

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President—

Mr. BLACK. The Senator asked me for a statement.

Mr. HEFLIN. I have yielded to the Senator now to make his excuses, and I am not going to permit him to make a speech in my time.

Mr. BLACK. All right, if the Senator is satisfied with the reply, then I am perfectly satisfied.

Mr. HEFLIN. "Satisfied." No. Why, the Senator, in order to excuse himself and to pull himself out of the awful predicament that his untenable position puts him in with the Senate and with the people of Alabama, has suggested here that I would ask for a Federal investigation of the election of the members of the legislature of my State. Every Senator who heard me knows that I made no such statement, and that nothing I have said could be construed into meaning any such thing.

Mr. BLACK. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. HEFLIN. I said that the reason some of the members of the legislature did not want an investigation of this thing, and did not want the ballot boxes opened, was that it might disclose the fact that some of them were not fairly elected down there. The Federal Government has got nothing to do with that, but they would not want that fact to be disclosed. That was all there was to that.

I happened to ask the Senator a question, and instead of answering me he digs up the old skeleton of reconstruction days, hideous and damnable as it was. My people have got a record on that subject, perhaps, that would compare well with that of my colleague's forbears in Alabama. My father was tried for being head of the Ku-Klux Klan in Alabama reconstruction days, and he was tried before a jury that had negroes on it at Montgomery, Ala. They sought to destroy him. He was an ardent and fearless Democrat. He was one of the Democratic leaders in the days of reconstruction; he was in the forefront of the fight that drove out the scalawags and carpetbaggers and gave back home rule and self-government to the State of Alabama. That is where he was, and his son is here to-day fighting for the purity of the ballot and clean elections in Alabama; fighting to get rid of scalawags and ballot-box thieves of another kind, money-mongers who would sell the birthright of sovereign voters for dollars and dimes at the ballot box. I am not reflecting upon the proud, patriotic people of my State; I am talking about the ballot-box thieves in my State; and I presume that there are a few of them in every State.

The Senator says that if he had been defeated and 57 counties had gone against him, he would have accepted it; he would hate for anybody to believe that there was such wholesale corruption as that he could be cheated out of his election in that many counties. Well, it is all right for the Senator to feel that way. He was on the side of my opposition; he was making speeches all over the State; and he was saying that I was in league with the Republicans, or that the Republicans had indorsed our ticket, which was not true. I had no combination with the Republicans. Of course, the upstanding, patriotic, intelligent Republicans voted for me, and the others voted the other ticket. [Laughter.]

But, Mr. President, the Senator was on the other side going around making speeches. It is true that he did not

mention my name. My colleague is a foxy fellow at times. You have seen individuals who could argue right up to a point and then get back off of it without ever touching it, approach it, and retreat again—

Off agin, on agin,
Gone agin—Finnigan.

[Laughter.]

You have seen that; but, as a result of it, the crowd he was with was disappointed with his speeches all through the campaign. So, as the result of his opposition to me and my friends, the very people who elected him, he lost their friendship and support; and now he is here, the lone mouthpiece of the opposition, fighting an investigation by the special Senate committee of fraud and corruption in the ballot boxes of Alabama, while his colleague stands and declares that fraud and corruption exists, and that opening the boxes will disclose it. There is no escape from that conclusion.

The Senator has read here a telegram from the sheriff of Walker County. I said that over half the ballot boxes had been opened in violation of the law; and now he comes and shows that by this telegram all of them have been opened!

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HEFLIN. No one had any right to open the ballot boxes in Walker County. The law provides that they shall be sealed in each precinct voting place, and kept sealed until six months after the election. The returns of that election should have been sent in as the law required; but I suppose that in order to give them an excuse to go in the boxes they put the return sheet inside, and then they tell us they got together and opened them all. My God! It is worse than I have said it was. All the boxes opened! My colleague has rendered me signal service at least in this instance by producing a telegram showing that the thing was even worse than I thought it was.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HEFLIN. Yes; I yield to the Senator.

Mr. BLACK. Will the Senator agree to have the telegram read again?

Mr. REED. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator will state it.

Mr. REED. What is the question before the Senate?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question before the Senate is the appropriation bill, which is open to amendment.

Mr. BARKLEY. Let us amend it, then.

Mr. HEFLIN. There is no use in reading the telegram again. I know what is in it. The Senate knows what is in it.

Mr. BLACK. I should like to have the telegram read. I ask unanimous consent that the telegram be read.

Mr. HEFLIN. Not in my time. I will tell the Senator what is in it. It says, in effect or means, that they all got together there and notified the candidates and the people interested that they were going to perpetrate this fraud in violation of the law. That is what it means. They said, "Come together. We are going to do something here, and it is a terrible thing. We are going into the ark of the covenant in our civic affairs. We are going to walk ruthlessly into the sacred precincts of the ballot box, and we are going to open them and go into them and get out the return sheet, which certifies the number of votes polled in each box or precinct."

That is what it all means. I tell you that they violated the law. They had no right to go in those boxes. It looks like they put these sheets in there for the purpose of enabling them, in Mr. Bankhead's county, to go into these boxes and get out these ballots, and do with them whatever they pleased. They have gone in them. I charged that here. Now here comes a telegram that confesses that they have done it.

That is a whole county where they have done it; and I tell you they have gone in all of them in Mobile County. There are other counties where they have gone into them, and my colleague will not help me to get an investigation of the matter.

O Mr. President, this talk of "carpetbag days" is a convenient refuge for some gentlemen when they are seeking to shield ballot-box crooks in my State.

Let me tell you what occurred. The Senator says that if he had been beaten in 57 counties, he would have submitted. A week before the election over the State you could not get a dollar bet, even money, that I would be defeated. On Friday and Saturday before the election they offered to bet 2 to 1 in Montgomery that I would be defeated; not only that I would be defeated, but that I would carry only 10 counties, and Bankhead would carry 57. That is the number of counties the Senator refers to—57.

If you get at the truth, you will find that I carried 57, and Bankhead carried 10. It turned out just as the Senator suggests; he "got" 57, and I "got" 10. When they offered to bet odds against my election, a good friend of mine down there said, "Look here: How does this happen? You know HEFLIN is sweeping the State, and is going to be elected by a tremendous majority. Why is it that you fellows are offering to bet now that he will not carry more than 10 counties?" They said, "Well, we have heard from the managers; they have already got a report on it, and they say we are safe in betting odds."

Why, Senators, there is a heap of skulduggery behind this thing that I do not want to go into. They had money galore down there. Old Johnny Raskob was walking around in the offing. The Power Trust round about. But all these things looked good to my colleague then. You know, it is natural that having taken a stand on the other side, he does not want to see the strangely produced results crumble down and decay; and I hold and hope to prove that I was reelected to the Senate in Alabama by 100,000 majority.

Why, Senators, I was never more certain of anything in my life. It was not demonstrated here and yonder, but every day, everywhere, all over the State for four months prior to the election. I had to have an amplifier. I never had a hall that would hold the crowd, and my colleague and his friends were hard pressed to fill a courthouse at their speakings. I am telling you the truth. They were condemned and repudiated by the people of Alabama long before the election. But let me tell you what happened.

When their own followers commenced shaking in the knees, when they would say out in the counties, "Look here, boys, HEFLIN is going to carry this county, and we who want to run for office in the future had better get from under; he is going to win," they were told, "Sit right steady. Do not rock the boat. It is all fixed. It is all fixed. Just be quiet, now. Say nothing. We have got the machinery. They will cast the votes for him, but we will count them."

That is what went on in my State. That is what has happened in Alabama. Here I come, having secured testimony on other phases of this question, and come now to the ballot box itself, which will disclose the truth or the untruth of the charges I make, and I am having difficulty even in having the resolution considered in my effort to open up this testimony for the Senate.

Mr. President, it is a dreadful and a fearful thing, and I do not propose that my colleague shall put me in the attitude of trying to have Federal interference with elections in Alabama. I have not done it. I repudiate even the insinuation of such a thing. I never asked for this committee to come into the State prior to the election.

I never asked for any interference; but Mr. John Bankhead, running against me, and supported by Senator BLACK, gave out a statement suggesting that Chairman Nye should come into the State and investigate Mr. Fred Thompson's activities and expenditures. Here was Mr. Bankhead inviting the Senator from North Dakota to come down there and prevent Fred Thompson from corrupting a primary in the State, and I never heard my colleague lift his voice in protest then. He did not even bat an angry eye when Bankhead was seeking Federal interference in the Democratic Party primary in Alabama. Ill does it become my colleague now to cry "Federal interference" when I am simply asking

for an opportunity to expose crookedness, fraud, and corruption in a senatorial election in Alabama.

The time I am talking about, when Bankhead wanted Nye to come down to Alabama, was when the voters were making up their minds as to whom they would vote for. Was this suggestion made for the purpose of influencing people and injuring Thompson? Was it made for the purpose of frightening Thompson? Was it made for the purpose of helping Bankhead? But my colleague was as silent as the tomb on Federal interference then. The members of the legislature did not object. But now, when I am asking to have the proof of the whole business opened up and laid bare before the Senate, they fear that I will reestablish carpetbag days in Alabama!

It was all right to establish them in Illinois, where Frank Smith and his crowd purchased a seat in the Senate. It was all right in the State of Pennsylvania, where Vare was accused of doing the same thing. But in Alabama, when a sitting Senator convinces, as I believe I have, four-fifths of the Senators in this body that we have not had a fair election in Alabama, that it reeks with fraud and corruption, I am having difficulty in getting a fair investigation, and I am accused of trying to do something that would bring back the carpetbag days in Alabama.

Mr. President, I am seeking to have the tactics of the carpetbaggers destroyed in my State. My father helped to drive them out, and we hoped we were done with them; and now they are seeking to do in Alabama, in the primary and in the general election, what the carpetbaggers did in the old days, and then stand up and defend it in the name of the Democratic Party and home rule and State rights!

Why, Mr. President, their position is simply ridiculous. I am always either for a thing or against it. I can say "yes" or "no." The Bible tells us what to do with the character that is neither hot nor cold. It says, "Spew him out of your mouth. If he is not positive or negative, one or the other, spew him out." I like a positive man. I like for him to stand up and say what he is for and what he is against.

Let me say again, in conclusion, that that telegram from Walker County proves my case beyond question. They admit that they have opened these ballot boxes in the home county of the candidate, Mr. Bankhead. It is admitted. I charged here to-day that over half of them had been opened. I knew then that the number was more than that, but I wanted to be within the bounds of the facts. Now comes a statement that they were all opened; and still some Senators would have the matter deferred until after the 4th of March, when the Committee on Privileges and Elections should take up the matter.

Mr. President, let me say this before I sit down:

The ballot box and its protection is the ark of the covenant in this great American Government. You permit anybody to manipulate it, to defeat the will of the people expressed there, and you are pulling the pillars from under the temple of liberty in this Nation. I do not care whether the foul hands that are laid upon these pillars are the hands of Democrats or the hands of Republicans. They will pull the pillars from under the temple, and down will fall all that we hold dear as a people. I am fighting for a fair and full expression of the ballot by the qualified voters at the polls in Alabama, and fighting to have their votes counted as cast, and I am pleading for that to-day. I want it in my State, as I want it in every other State.

If an examination of the facts discloses that I was not elected, very well, I will accept the verdict; but I am not afraid to fight for what I believe is right and just. I do not care how it affects me personally. So help me God, I never counted the cost in any position I took where right and wrong were involved. I have fought for the right as God gave me the light to see it. When I took the stand I did take, my enemies conspired together to politically assassinate me. They shot me in the back. I went over the State of Alabama addressing audiences of from 5,000 to 10,000 people, and every one of them in the audiences stood up condemning the committee and indorsing my course, except five. All over my State they indorsed and approved my course.

It was the common talk in Alabama every day that "HEFLIN will sweep the State by the biggest majority in its history," and when the election was over, the day following, it was like a funeral in the State, quiet, whispering around, people saying, "How do you account for it?" "They stole it. The election was stolen." That was whispered on every hand.

I had letters and phone messages saying, "There was no rejoicing in this county, no hand clapping, no hurrahing." Why? Because you never hear a man who is in possession of stolen goods going down the street hollering and hurrahing. They are very quiet. That is what happened in my State, and I am begging here for a disclosure of this rottenness.

I am fighting, not for politics, I am fighting for the highest and best interests of the humblest citizen in my State, fighting for the good name of the State I love, fighting for the good name and honor of the State in whose soil sleep the bones of my ancestors for generations, fighting for the good name of a State which has honored me for more than a quarter of a century with a seat in the Congress of the United States.

I can lay one hand upon my heart and lift the other to the God who made me and declare in this august presence that I have never betrayed the people of my State or country. I never sold the truth to serve the hour.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of my resolution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution presented by the senior Senator from Alabama?

Mr. COUZENS. Mr. President, I have stated my position, that unless the Senator accepts the amendment which has been suggested I will object.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Objection is made.

WAR DEPARTMENT APPROPRIATIONS

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 15593) making appropriations for the military and non-military activities of the War Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and for other purposes.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate concludes its business to-day it take a recess until 12 o'clock to-morrow.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, I desire to present an amendment to the pending bill. It is a literal copy of a bill passed through the Senate a few days ago by unanimous consent. The bill was adopted by the Senate in the identical language suggested by the Secretary of Agriculture in lieu of language prepared by me.

The amendment authorizes the use as loans of the capital stock of agricultural credit corporations of not to exceed \$5,000,000 of the \$45,000,000 fund heretofore appropriated for loans to purchase seed, feed, and fertilizer.

It will be impossible, considering the restrictions which have been adopted as to the loans to be made, to use the entire \$45,000,000 for the purchase of seed, feed, and fertilizer, because those restrictions require that the borrower must give a first mortgage on his crop, and that both the landlord and the tenant must waive all claim to the crop in favor of the loan. This means that comparatively few producers will be able to hypothecate all of their security to get feed, seed, and fertilizer, and find other methods for financing the production of their crops. So that I see no objection to using \$5,000,000 of the fund for the purposes of this amendment, and those purposes are that the Secretary of Agriculture may loan to individuals funds to be used as the capital stock of local credit corporations, livestock loan companies, or like organizations, or in increasing the capital stock of such corporations qualified to do business with or having the privilege of doing business with the intermediate credit banks.

When agricultural credit corporations are organized they may make advances in an aggregate amount not to exceed ten times the capital stock, so that it is believed that the

speedy adoption of this measure will be very helpful. That is the opinion of the Secretary of Agriculture and of the chairman of the Federal Farm Board, as well as the many Senators, and of a large number of business men and farm organizations.

The reason I think it is advisable to offer this as an amendment to the pending bill is that if it is to accomplish its purpose it must be acted upon as speedily as possible. The bill, the provisions of which are embodied in the amendment, was introduced prior to the holidays. It was brought to the attention of the Secretary of Agriculture on the 2d of January by a telegram pointing out its purposes, the Secretary responded about the 13th or the 15th of this month, approved the bill, and in the meantime the chairman of the Federal Farm Board had taken the same course. The Secretary approved the purposes of the bill and suggested language which in many respects broadens the language used in the original measure.

The appropriate committee in the House of Representatives probably will in the course of time take action on the bill, but it has been said hearings will be necessary, notwithstanding the fact that it unanimously passed the Senate and has the approval of both the Secretary of Agriculture and the chairman of the Federal Farm Board, and that hearings can not begin probably before next Thursday week. The statement was made some time to-day that it might become possible to speed up the matter a little, but that in all probability hearings would be required. So I am offering this amendment to the pending bill, thereby taking two chances on getting the provision soon enacted into law.

As the bill passed the Senate unanimously, and inasmuch as it has the approval to which I have heretofore referred, I hope the Senator from Pennsylvania will feel himself in a position either to accept the amendment or to make no question as to its incorporation.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, clearly, I think, the amendment is not out of order. It is not subject to a point of order because it carries out the purport of a bill passed by the Senate during this session.

I do think, however, that I should not accept the amendment, because it has no relation whatever to the War Department or the military activities of the country. I am very glad to have a vote by a division now, however.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, if the amendment is to be contested, I shall have to get my forces here, so to speak. I do not intend to take any chance on an expression by the Senate if the Senator feels that he has to contest the amendment.

Mr. REED. I feel that I should not accept it.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Barkley	Dill	Johnson	Phipps
Bingham	Fess	Jones	Reed
Black	Fletcher	Kean	Robinson, Ark.
Blaine	Frazier	Kendrick	Sheppard
Borah	George	Keyes	Shipstead
Bratton	Glass	La Follette	Smith
Brookhart	Glenn	McGill	Steiwer
Broussard	Goff	McKellar	Thomas, Idaho
Bulkley	Goldsborough	McNary	Thomas, Okla.
Capper	Gould	Metcalf	Townsend
Caraway	Hale	Morrow	Trammell
Carey	Harris	Moses	Vandenberg
Connally	Harrison	Norbeck	Walsh, Mass.
Copeland	Hatfield	Norris	Walsh, Mont.
Couzens	Hebert	Nye	Watson
Dale	Heflin	Oddie	Williamson
Davis	Howell	Partridge	

The VICE PRESIDENT. Sixty-seven Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON].

The amendment was agreed to, as follows:

Insert at the proper place in the bill the following:

"That the Secretary of Agriculture is hereby authorized, in his discretion, to use not to exceed \$5,000,000 of the \$45,000,000 appropriated by Public Resolution No. 114, approved January 15,

1931, to make advances or loans to individuals in the drought and/or storm or hail stricken areas of the United States for the purpose of forming local agricultural credit corporations, live-stock-loan companies, or like organizations, or in increasing the capital stock of such corporations qualified to do business with, or having the privilege of doing business with the intermediate credit banks, or to which such privileges may be extended, and/or to make loans to individuals upon the security of the capital stock of such associations, companies, or organizations; such advances, subscriptions, payments of loans to be made under such terms and conditions and subject to such regulations as in the opinion of the Secretary of Agriculture will best protect the interests of the United States and aid in extending credit to farmers."

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. President, I offer the amendment which I send to the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be read for the information of the Senate.

The CHIEF CLERK. The Senator from Nebraska offers the following amendment: At the proper place insert:

The Secretary of War is hereby directed to supply electric energy from the Government plants at Muscle Shoals to adjacent municipalities at not to exceed 4 mills per kilowatt-hour under contracts running from year to year only.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I make the point of order that the amendment constitutes general legislation upon an appropriation bill and is therefore in violation of Rule XVI.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The point of order is sustained.

Mr. HOWELL. I move that the rule be suspended in accordance with my notice.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Nebraska to suspend the rule.

Mr. REED. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Chief Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HATFIELD (when his name was called). On this question I have a pair with the junior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. MORRISON]. I transfer that pair to the senior Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT] and vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. NORBECK. On this question I am paired with the junior Senator from Connecticut [Mr. WALCOTT]. If permitted to vote, I would vote "yea." If the junior Senator from Connecticut were present, he would vote "yea."

Mr. HARRISON. On this vote the senior Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN] and I are paired with the senior Senator from Delaware [Mr. HASTINGS]. If the senior Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN] were here and he and I could vote, we would vote "yea." If the Senator from Delaware [Mr. HASTINGS] were present, he would vote "nay."

Mr. FESS. I desire to announce the following pairs:

The Senator from Missouri [Mr. PATTERSON] with the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] and the Senator from Montana [Mr. WHEELER]; and

The Senator from Illinois [Mr. DENEEN] with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BROCK] and the Senator from Missouri [Mr. HAWES].

I also wish to announce that the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLET] has a general pair with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SIMMONS].

Mr. SHEPPARD. I wish to announce that the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS] is paired with the senior Senator from Arizona [Mr. ASHURST] and the junior Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN]. If the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS] were present, he would vote "nay." If the Senators from Arizona were present, they would vote "yea."

Mr. GOULD (after having voted in the negative). I transfer my pair with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BLEASE] to the Senator from California [Mr. SHORT- RIDGE] and let my vote stand.

The roll call resulted—yeas 34, nays 31, as follows:

YEAS—34

Barkley	Connally	Howell	Shipstead
Black	Copeland	Johnson	Smith
Blaine	Dill	La Follette	Thomas, Okla.
Borah	Fletcher	McGill	Trammell
Bratton	Frazier	McKellar	Walsh, Mass.
Brookhart	George	Norris	Walsh, Mont.
Bulkley	Glass	Nye	Williamson
Capper	Harris	Robinson, Ark.	
Caraway	Heflin	Sheppard	

NAYS—31

Bingham	Goff	Kendrick	Phipps
Broussard	Goldsborough	Keyes	Reed
Carey	Gould	McNary	Steinwer
Couzens	Hale	Metcalf	Thomas, Idaho
Dale	Hatfield	Morrow	Townsend
Davis	Hebert	Moses	Vandenbergh
Fess	Jones	Oddie	Watson
Glenn	Kean	Partridge	

NOT VOTING—31

Ashurst	Hawes	Pittman	Stephens
Blease	Hayden	Ransdell	Swanson
Brook	King	Robinson, Ind.	Tydings
Cutting	McMaster	Schall	Wagner
Deneen	Morrison	Shortridge	Walcott
Gillett	Norbeck	Simmons	Waterman
Harrison	Patterson	Smoot	Wheeler
Hastings	Pine	Steck	

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. On this question, the yeas are 34 and the nays 31. Less than two-thirds having voted in the affirmative, the motion to suspend the rule is not agreed to.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Pennsylvania a question with reference to the pending bill. On page 28 there is a provision, beginning in line 3, as follows:

That in the expenditure of appropriations in this act the Secretary of War shall, when in his discretion the interest of the Government will permit, purchase for use, or contract for the use, within the continental limits of the United States only articles of the growth, production, or manufacture of the United States, notwithstanding any existing laws to the contrary.

I would like to ask the Senator why the Canal Zone was left out of the amendment?

Mr. REED. Mr. President, the word "continental" has been stricken from the language of the amendment as the Senator read it. That was done by unanimous consent. The term "within the limits of the United States" still would not include the Panama Canal Zone. The reason for that is that it is so far away that ordinarily purchasing there, as in the Philippines, ought to be free and open. If the purchasing is restricted to American products it would cost a great deal more money than it does at the present time. There are many cases in which American products can not compete, and in sound economics ought not to be able to compete with near-by products. That is the reason why the amendment was so written.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. I thank the Senator. Of course, the provision is that it shall only apply where possible, where goods produced in the United States can be bought. I found while I was in the Canal Zone that people were buying Argentine meat and eating New Zealand butter. So far as meat from the Argentine and butter from New Zealand are concerned, it must be closer to buy there than in the United States. The people in the zone are drawing good salaries from the Government of the United States. They do a large business. The provision ships pass through the canal. I see no reason why people who draw salaries from the Government of the United States should not purchase, when they are on United States soil and in United States territory, foodstuffs and other things produced in the United States. Therefore if it is in order to offer an amendment, I offer the amendment, which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment will be stated for the information of the Senate.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 28, line 6, after the words "United States," insert the words "and the Panama Canal Zone."

Mr. REED. Of course, the amendment of the committee will have to be reconsidered in order to be amended in this fashion, but that is only a technicality.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the amendment of the committee on page 28, lines 3 to 9, is reconsidered and the question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Minnesota to the amendment.

Mr. REED. I should like to speak briefly on the proposal of the Senator from Minnesota. The Senator objects to American commissaries in the Panama Canal Zone buying beef from the Argentine and butter from New Zealand, and I fear some other articles from other foreign countries.

This is what will happen if we shall adopt the amendment: In order to prevent what the Senator desires to prevent, we will simply destroy in part the business the commissaries do to-day, and shops will spring up in the city of Panama and in the city of Colon, just a hundred yards or so away from the present commissaries; people will walk across the line and go on buying New Zealand butter and Argentine beef. It is a perfectly useless amendment, it seems to me, from that standpoint. It would not accomplish the end the Senator is aiming at, but would merely cut down the business of the commissaries to that extent. So long as a man can walk across the street in the city of Panama and buy Argentine beef 5 cents a pound cheaper than he can buy Chicago beef, of course, he is going to do it; and that will be the result if this amendment shall be adopted.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator a question. I believe a tariff is imposed on foreign goods brought into the Republic of Panama when there is no tariff on anything brought into the Canal Zone.

Mr. REED. I do not know what the tariff rates of Panama are, but I am very certain that they are very much lower than the American rates; and necessarily that is so, in order to enable the Panamanians to compete in supplying the ships that are all the time passing through the canal in both directions. I do not know at the moment whether there is any tariff at all on these products going into the Republic of Panama, but I am quite sure it is very small, if there is any.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. The Senator is aware that the commissaries of the Government sell food and other articles at a very much lower figure than they can possibly be bought for in the Republic of Panama. The commissaries do a great volume of business, and their sales are limited to people who work on the Canal Zone.

Mr. REED. That is true, but the Senator's amendment will end their ability to sell cheaply, and will simply divert all the trade from the commissaries to shops across the street in the city of Panama. The Senator will remember that the town of Ancon, which is in the Canal Zone, is only separated by an imaginary line from the city of Panama, and that it is an easy 1-minute walk from one place to the other. I am afraid that would be the result of the adoption of the amendment.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. What about the Army commissaries and the Navy commissaries?

Mr. REED. Exactly the same thing would happen; they would lose much of their business, and it would go to the privately operated shops in the Republic of Panama.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. The Army and the Navy do not provision ships. Would the Senator object to having the Army and Navy buy for their own use American products wherever possible?

Mr. REED. I should like to see that done, wherever it is practicable; I am just as strong a protectionist as is anybody in this room, but I doubt whether it is possible to apply the principle of protection down there. That is my point.

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Pennsylvania what is the objection to people buying in the Republic of Panama if they see fit to do so? Is there any particular desire to maintain the sales of the commissary? Is not the commissary merely a convenience?

Mr. REED. The commissary is merely a convenience, that is true; but the more business it does the cheaper it can do it. That is all I am interested in.

Mr. HOWELL. Is it not a fact that beef cattle are among the chief products in the Republic of Panama; and is it not a fact that the beef consumed probably would be from the herds within the Republic of Panama? We know their beef is not equal in quality to our beef, and therefore that character of beef would not be bought.

Mr. REED. I do not know anything of that sort. I do not think that the principal product of Panama is beef. The only beef cattle I have seen in Panama have not looked very good to me. I think the Panamanians would go on importing Argentine beef, and that is what would be sold in Panama.

Mr. HOWELL. I can not see any reason why we should discriminate against American products simply because some of our people may walk across the line and buy in the Republic of Panama. I have been in Panama; I know how they carry on business there. They sell at lower rates than corresponding goods can be bought for under other circumstances; but I am inclined to think that the American beef and American butter would even then be sold at as low a rate as Argentine beef and New Zealand butter would be sold in the Republic of Panama.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, it seems to me to be self-evident that the amendment would not do the American cattle grower or the American dairy interests any good. As I have said, it would simply divert the business to the private shops in Panama, and they are not going to buy American beef or American butter, because they can get it cheaper from Argentine and New Zealand. The amendment would not bring any trade to the United States. If I thought it would, I might be willing to waive all my scruples and try it, but it is self-evident that it will not.

Mr. HOWELL. Would not the Senator be willing to experiment for one year?

Mr. REED. No. I do not see why we should disrupt the business of the commissaries when it is perfectly evident that it is not going to work.

Mr. HOWELL. I think it is worthy of experimentation for a year.

Mr. REED. There is no use in going into something that we know is going to fail.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Minnesota to the amendment reported by the committee.

The amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the amendment which was reconsidered will be considered as agreed to.

Mr. CAPPER. I offer the amendment which I send to the desk, and ask that it may be read.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. At the proper place in the bill it is proposed to insert the following:

That the Federal Farm Board, with the approval of the President, is authorized and directed to take such action as may be necessary to make immediately available 20,000,000 bushels of wheat, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to provide food for the distressed people in the various parts of the United States: *Provided*, That such wheat shall be furnished and delivered to and distributed by such organization or organizations as may be designated by the President, and under rules and regulations to be promulgated by said Federal Farm Board and approved by the President.

Sec. 2. The Federal Farm Board, or such agency as may be designated by the President, may arrange for the conversion of such wheat or any part thereof into flour: *Provided*, That in the delivery of wheat or flour to any organization or organizations, as provided herein, the Federal Farm Board shall be at no expense: *And provided further*, That all expense incident to the receipt and distribution of such wheat or flour shall be borne by the organization or organizations designated to supervise such distribution.

Sec. 3. The Federal Farm Board shall keep account of all wheat furnished and delivered as provided herein and shall report the average cost of such wheat to the board as a credit against its revolving fund.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Kansas.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I do not suppose the amendment is subject to a point of order, because, in the form of a joint resolution, it has passed the Senate at this session. However, it certainly has nothing whatever to do with the Army or the military activities of the Government, and therefore I hope that it will not be adopted.

SEVERAL SENATORS. Vote!

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment. [Putting the question.] The Chair is in doubt.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. BARKLEY. Let us have the yeas and nays.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, this amendment is in the same language as was embraced in a joint

resolution which passed the Senate some days ago. The joint resolution was adopted in this body by a unanimous vote. It had been reported by the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry by a unanimous vote.

I have been told by prominent officers of the Red Cross, men who are in the field and who have had great experience in the operations of that organization, that a considerable quantity of wheat, particularly when converted into flour, could be better used than almost anything else in meeting the requirements of that organization's undertaking. Of course, he had no authority to speak for the President of the United States or for Mr. John Barton Payne, and I do not assume to speak for them or either of them. There is no distinction in principle between authorizing the use of wheat owned by the Government for relief purposes and appropriating public funds for the same purpose. The disposition of those who are at present charged with the responsibility for taking care of the situation in areas where distress is greatest is to do just as little as possible and to wait just as long as possible before doing anything.

I hope this amendment will go into the bill and stay there if the bill shall pass.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Kansas on which the yeas and nays have been called for. Is the demand seconded?

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Chief Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HATFIELD (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. MORRISON], but I am informed that if present he would vote as I shall vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. THOMAS of Idaho (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Montana [Mr. WHEELER] and withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. BINGHAM (after having voted in the negative). I have a pair with the junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS], which I transfer to the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. DENEEN], and will permit my vote to stand.

Mr. HARRISON. On this question I am paired with the senior Senator from Delaware [Mr. HASTINGS]. I transfer that pair to the senior Senator from Iowa [Mr. STRECK] and will vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. WAGNER. On this question I am paired with the junior Senator from Missouri [Mr. PATTERSON]. I transfer that pair to the senior Senator from Arizona [Mr. ASHURST] and will vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. NORBECK. I am paired with the junior Senator from Connecticut [Mr. WALCOTT]. I transfer that pair to the junior Senator from Iowa [Mr. BROOKHART] and will vote. I vote "yea."

The PRESIDENT pro tempore (after having voted in the negative). The present occupant of the chair transfers his pair with the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. BROUSSARD] to the Senator from California [Mr. SHORTRIDGE] and will let his vote stand.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I desire to announce that the Senators from Arizona [Mr. ASHURST and Mr. HAYDEN], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. HAWES], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN], and the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BROCK] are detained on official business. If present, these Senators would vote "yea."

Mr. FESS. I have been requested to announce the following general pairs:

The Senator from Indiana [Mr. ROBINSON] with the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STEPHENS]; and

The Senator from Colorado [Mr. WATERMAN] with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON].

The result was announced—yeas 46, nays 16, as follows:

YEAS—46

Barkley	Carey	Frazier	Johnson
Black	Connally	George	Jones
Blaine	Copeland	Glenn	Kendrick
Blease	Couzens	Harris	La Follette
Bratton	Dale	Harrison	McGill
Bulkeley	Davis	Hatfield	McKellar
Capper	Dill	Heflin	McNary
Caraway	Fletcher	Howell	Norbeck

Norris
Nye
Robinson, Ark.
Sheppard

Shipstead
Smith
Steiner
Thomas, Okla.

Townsend
Trammell
Wagner
Walsh, Mass.

Walsh, Mont.
Williamson

NAYS—16

Bingham
Fess
Goldsborough
Gould

Hale
Hebert
Kean
Keyes

Metcalf
Morrow
Moses
Oddie

Phipps
Reed
Tydings
Watson

NOT VOTING—34

Ashurst
Borah
Brook
Brookhart
Broussard
Cutting
Deneen
Gillett
Glass

Goff
Hastings
Hawes
Hayden
King
McMaster
Morrison
Partridge
Patterson

Pine
Pittman
Ransdell
Robinson, Ind.
Schall
Shortridge
Simmons
Smoot
Steck

Stephens
Swanson
Thomas, Idaho
Vandenberg
Walcott
Waterman
Wheeler

So Mr. CAPPER's amendment was agreed to.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, so far as I know, the only remaining amendment is one on page 15, line 11, which was previously agreed to by the Senate but on which the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. BLAINE] has filed a notice of a motion to reconsider.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 15, line 11, after the numerals "\$21,237,708," it is proposed to strike out the proviso.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, the amendment of the committee has been agreed to.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Yes; but the occupant of the chair is trying to find out whether the motion to reconsider was agreed to.

Mr. REED. No; the motion to reconsider has not been agreed to, and I hope it will not be.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. BLAINE].

Mr. BLAINE. Mr. President, on January 10 the House incorporated in the pending bill the following provision on page 15:

Provided, That none of the money appropriated in this act shall be used for the purchase of oleomargarine or butter substitutes for other than cooking purposes.

Mr. President, this in a degree represents the economic struggle that is going on.

When the dairymen of this country find that some 590,000 pounds of butter substitutes are being used in the Army; when the dairymen of this country find that in our Federal institutions such as St. Elizabeths Hospital there is no butter whatever used, notwithstanding the fact that butter is an essential food element in the treatment of mental cases; when the dairymen also find that nearly 1,000,000 pounds of butter substitutes are used in the several institutions under the control of the Federal Government, and that in some of the soldiers' homes no butter whatever is used; when the dairymen of this country find that there is something like two to three million pounds of butter substitutes for table purposes used by the Federal Government; then certainly we can not be surprised at the action of the House in incorporating this amendment in the bill.

The President, by an Executive order, determines the component parts of the rations for the Army. The President, by an Executive order, has permitted the use of only 1¾ ounces of butter per day in the Army. That means that the private soldier is getting 1¾ ounces for the three meals that he consumes daily.

Anyone who has ever visited a military reservation will appreciate that the officers' mess is always abundantly supplied with butter; but if you will go to the enlisted men's mess you will find that there is scarcely any butter.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BLAINE. I yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. REED. The Senator does not mean that the officers' mess is supplied with butter out of that issued for the troops, does he?

Mr. BLAINE. I mean that the officers' mess never lacks an abundance of butter.

Mr. REED. Then that is because the officers buy it for themselves with their own money.

Mr. BLAINE. And the Government, which pays the enlisted man a meager sum per day, furnishes only 1¾ ounces per day of butter.

Mr. REED. What has the officers' mess to do with it?

Mr. BLAINE. The officers' mess has this to do with it: The officers are receiving a salary out of which they can afford to buy their butter. The enlisted man receives no such salary, and he is forced to eat butter substitutes.

Mr. REED. Has the Senator ever eaten in the enlisted men's mess?

Mr. BLAINE. I have eaten in many enlisted men's messes.

Mr. REED. Did the Senator ever find a shortage of butter?

Mr. BLAINE. I never found that there was any abundance of butter. It was the most precious thing in the mess; and the man who could get at the butter plate first was the fortunate man in the enlisted men's mess.

Mr. REED. The Senator's experience has been very different from mine.

Mr. BLAINE. Perhaps that is true; but I think the Senator will readily recognize that if he were served 1¾ ounces of butter by the Senate Restaurant for three meals during the day, we would find him protesting at that meager supply of butter.

Mr. REED. If the Senator will yield, I think I would speak to the mess sergeant and ask him to spend some of the battery or company funds for a little more butter.

Mr. BLAINE. The company funds? Why, Mr. President, there is not any reason in the world why the Government of the United States should not supply an abundance of wholesome food for the enlisted men. So this is not merely a dairymen's fight; it is as well a fight for the enlisted soldier, the private soldier.

It's Tommy this an' Tommy that an' "Tommy, stay outside"—outside"—

When it comes to butter—

But it's "Mr. Atkins" when the trooper's on the tide.

Let it be "Mr. Atkins" when it comes to the enlisted man's mess, and give him a quantity of butter such as we require for ourselves.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BLAINE. Yes.

Mr. FLETCHER. Is it not true that in the Tropics it is almost impossible at times to keep butter; it becomes rancid quickly, and they are obliged to use oleomargarine?

Mr. BLAINE. Mr. President, the only tropical stations of importance at which the Army of the United States may be serving are the Philippine Islands and the Panama Canal. There is no trouble in having butter in the Panama Canal or the Philippines. Every Army officer has an abundance of butter. There is no difficulty whatever in transporting butter or in keeping under modern refrigeration for use in the Tropics—none whatever. So the men in the Tropics ought to have the same opportunity to be served with an abundance of wholesome food as the men in the Arctic regions or in this region of the world where they are serving in the Army.

Mr. CAREY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Wyoming?

Mr. BLAINE. I do.

Mr. CAREY. I should like to ask the Senator if oleomargarine is not made from the fat of cattle.

Mr. BLAINE. There are many kinds of oleomargarine. There is that oleomargarine which is the natural product, made out of certain vegetable fats. In order to make that oleomargarine in semblance of butter, it becomes necessary to add artificial coloring. There is another form of oleomargarine made out of vegetable fat known as palm oil; and by reason of a recent order of the Internal Revenue Department, that oleomargarine does not bear the 10 cents per pound tax. The department has held that oleomarga-

rine made out of palm oil contains no artificial coloring; that the palm oil produces an oleomargarine in semblance of butter of identically the same color as butter by reason of the natural coloring of the oil.

There are other types of oleomargarine. I will now directly answer the Senator's question.

Mr. CAREY. May I ask the Senator another question?

Mr. BLAINE. Let me finish answering the question the Senator has already propounded.

There is oleomargarine and butterine made out of certain animal fats. Sometimes it is made out of the filthy, dirty grease which comes from the packing houses, which has been renovated. In order to make that oleomargarine or butterine in semblance of butter, it becomes necessary to add artificial coloring.

Then there is another form of oleomargarine made out of animal fats, and that is oleomargarine that is in semblance of butter made from the yellow fat of old dairy cows which are sent to the packing plants for slaughter. That animal fat has a yellow color like butter. So that animal fat is made into oleomargarine, and it is the yellow fat from the old dairy cows that makes the oleomargarine or butterine in semblance of yellow butter.

Mr. CAREY. Does the Senator mean to say that the only fat of cattle used for oleomargarine is from old dairy cows, that no fat from beef cattle is used?

Mr. BLAINE. There are some of the packing plant greases which are of a little more value than that which goes into the soap industry, out of which oleomargarine and butterine are made, certainly. But I do not want to have that grease fed to the private soldier in our Army.

Mr. CAREY. I do not want that done either, but I think it hurts the livestock industry if they can not sell oleomargarine, and they have a right to the same consideration the dairyman receives.

Mr. BLAINE. Does the Senator know how much of the fat of a steer in value, is made into oleomargarine, and the amount the producer of the livestock receives for that?

Mr. CAREY. I am sorry I can not answer that.

Mr. BLAINE. It is a mere bagatelle. It is never reflected in the price of beef or pork or mutton to the extent of a penny.

Mr. CAREY. I think the sale of any product related to the livestock industry is reflected in the price.

Mr. BLAINE. I am not in favor of feeding packing house grease which comes from the livestock of this country to the private enlisted soldiers in our Army. I am in favor of giving him the same rations afforded others in the Army.

Mr. President, the action of the House is evidence of the economic struggle of the dairymen of this country. At no time in the last 30 years have dairy products been at such a low scale in price. To-day the price received for butter fat will not equal the cost of production. Yet we propose to permit the use of these substitutes; for whom? For the man who has no voice in the matter, for the men who is compelled to eat butter substitutes, for the private soldier, the enlisted man.

It is true that the President of the United States could, by an Executive order, increase any of the component parts of the rations, so that the enlisted soldier might receive that which he ought to receive from the Government of the United States, but the President has not done that.

So, Mr. President, I hope the motion to reconsider will prevail, and then that the amendment adopted by the Senate committee will be rejected. I ask for a yea-and-nay vote.

I have been asked what the amendment is. On January 10 the House inserted the following language in the pending bill, namely:

That none of the money appropriated in this act shall be used for the purchase of oleomargarine or butter substitutes for other than cooking purposes.

The Senate committee struck out the provision so incorporated by the House, and the Senate adopted the amendment offered by the Senate committee. It adopted this when scarcely any of the Members of the Senate were on the floor, without any consideration whatever. For that reason I filed

my motion for reconsideration of the vote by which the amendment of the Senate committee was adopted.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Wisconsin to reconsider the vote by which the amendment of the committee was agreed to.

Mr. BLAINE. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Barkley	Fletcher	Johnson	Partridge
Bingham	Frazier	Jones	Phipps
Blaine	George	Kean	Reed
Blease	Goff	Kendrick	Robinson, Ark.
Bratton	Goldsborough	McGill	Schall
Capper	Hale	McKellar	Sheppard
Carey	Harris	Metcalf	Thomas, Okla.
Connally	Harrison	Morrow	Tydings
Copeland	Hatfield	Moses	Wagner
Couzens	Hebert	Norbeck	Walsh, Mass.
Dale	Heflin	Norris	Watson
Fess	Howell	Nye	Williamson

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Forty-eight Senators having answered to their names—

Mr. COUZENS. Mr. President, I move that the Senate take a recess until 12 o'clock to-morrow.

Mr. REED. I make the point of order that the Chair has not announced the result of the quorum call.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Forty-eight Senators having answered to their names, there is not a quorum present.

Mr. COUZENS. I renew my motion, that we take a recess until 12 o'clock to-morrow.

Mr. FESS. I rise to a point of order.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator will state it.

Mr. FESS. I make the point that without a quorum no motion is in order except a motion to adjourn.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senate entered into a unanimous-consent agreement that when we conclude business to-day we shall recess until 12 o'clock to-morrow. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Michigan.

On a division, the motion was agreed to; and the Senate (at 6 o'clock p. m.), in accordance with the unanimous-consent agreement heretofore entered into, took a recess until to-morrow, Friday, January 30, 1931, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate January 29 (legislative day of January 26), 1931

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE

Albert M. Sames, of Arizona, to be United States district judge, district of Arizona, to succeed William H. Sawtelle, appointed United States circuit judge, ninth circuit.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY

Thomas J. Sparks, of Kentucky, to be United States attorney, western district of Kentucky. (He is now serving in this position under an appointment which expired January 14, 1931.)

UNITED STATES MARSHAL

James H. Hammons, of Kentucky, to be United States marshal, eastern district of Kentucky. (He is now serving in this position under an appointment which expired January 18, 1931.)

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THURSDAY, JANUARY 29, 1931

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, age by age shrouded in Thine eternal invisibility, in our darkest moods we find that faith in Thy personal presence is a terrible test. Have mercy upon us and forgive us; crown our beings with calmer spirits and wider vision that we may see that Thou art working everywhere,